Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-054
Tuesday
20 March 1990

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-054 *20 March 1990*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Soviet President's Increased Powers Viewed *[ATA]* 1
Cuba's Castro Receives Albanian Women's Group *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Alia Meets Students, Discusses Plenum Decisions *[ZERI I POPULLIT 11 Mar]* 1
Meets Workers, Criticizes Bureaucracy *[PUNA 9 Mar]* 2

BULGARIA

Lukanov-Ryzhkov Talks in Moscow Noted *[BTA]* 3
Prime Minister's Visit to USSR *[cross-reference]* 3
Romanians Jam Border Crossing to Turkey *[BTA]* 3
North Atlantic Assembly Delegation Visits *[Sofia Radio]* 3
Duffy on Relations *[BTA]* 3
British Agriculture Minister Visits *[BTA]* 4
Minister on Cooperation *[BTA]* 4
Foreign Minister Discusses Unity in Europe *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 14 Mar]* 4
Emigration to Canada, Sweden, Austria *[BTA]* 6
Debate at Roundtable Centers on Elections *[BTA]* 6
Investigation of Zhivkov Extended *[BTA]* 7
Dimitrovgrad Ecological Complaints 'Justified' *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Podkrepa National Conference Opens *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Congress Reelects Trenchev *[BTA]* 8
Platform of Independent Union Confederation *[TRUD 27 Feb]* 9
Ilya Minev Reelected to Human Rights Society *[Sofia Radio]* 10
Lilov on Changing Communist Party's Name *[Vienna WOCHENPRESSE 16 Mar]* 10
Data on People Repressed After 1944 Revealed *[BTA]* 11
Lilov Meets Plovdiv Public *[Sofia Radio]* 12
Fatherland Front Leader Discusses Tasks *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 15 Mar]* 12
Aleksandrov Meets Maritsa-East Workers *[Sofia Radio]* 13
National Democratic Union Becomes Party *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 14 Mar]* 13
Changes in BTA Management Made *[BTA]* 13
Newsprint Shortage Affects Publication *[POGLED 12 Mar]* 13
Savings Bank Deputy Chief Reports on Deposits *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 8 Mar]* 14
Daily Reports on 'Economic Crimes' in 1989 *[BTA]* 15

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Discusses Elections, Europe's Future *[Paris LE MONDE 18-19 Mar]* 16
Havel Discusses Foreign, Domestic Issues *[Prague Radio]* 18
Mitterrand Optimistic About Bilateral Relations *[CTK]* 18
Havel Interview Previews France, UK Visits *[Prague Radio]* 19
Havel Travels to France for Bilateral Talks 19
Greeted by Mitterrand *[CTK]* 19
Leaders Discuss Reforms *[CTK]* 19
Analyzes Pact Membership *[CTK]* 20
Leaders Exchange Toasts *[Prague Radio]* 20
Further Reportage on Visit *[cross-reference]* 20
Csemadok Chairman Discusses Minority Issues *[Bratislava Radio]* 20
Czechs Suggested as Hungary-Slovakia Mediator *[CTK]* 21
Opinion Poll Identifies Voting Preferences *[RUDE PRAVO 15 Mar]* 21

Socialist Party Preparing Election Program *[Prague Radio]* 22
40 Percent View Feb 1948 as Communist Putsch *[RUDE PRAVO 14 Mar]* 22
Mohorita: Organize Commission on Party Finances *[RUDE PRAVO 16 Mar]* 22
Czech Council Debates Emblems, CPCZ Property *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 14 Mar]* 23
Minister Suggests CPSL Asset Nationalization *[Prague TV]* 24
Prague Civic Forum Assembly Amends Statutes *[Prague Radio]* 25
Schubert Administering Trade Union Property *[Prague Radio]* 25
Sacher's Adviser Accused of Destroying Documents *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 13 Mar]* 25
Leopoldov Prisoners Continue Hunger Strike *[ROLNICKE NOVINY 13 Mar]* 26

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Israel Ready To Discuss Diplomatic Links *[ADN]* 27
Gorbachev's Election as President Viewed *[Albrecht in NEUE ZEIT 16 Mar]* 27
EC Commission's Bangemann on German Unity *[ADN]* 27
Gysi Comments on Election Results *[Vienna VOLKSSTIMME 20 Mar]* 28
On Elections, Unification, Mark *[Hamburg BILD 20 Mar]* 28
PDS Statement on Election Results *[ADN]* 28
De Maiziere Speaks on Future Policies *[Hamburg BILD 20 Mar]* 29
Opposes NATO Troops in GDR *[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG 20 Mar]* 30
On SPD's Rejection of Coalition *[Mainz TV]* 30
'Alliance for Germany' Favors Coalition Talks *[ADN]* 30
SPD Coalition With Alliance Not Ruled Out *[ADN]* 31
Boehme Rules Out Coalition With Social Union *[ADN]* 31
Confidential CSU/DSU Meeting in Hof *[Hamburg DPA]* 31
East, West German Leaders on Poll Results *[BBC TV]* 31
Elections Held 'Without Complications' *[ADN]* 32
35,000 Demonstrate in Plauen 17 Mar *[ADN]* 32
Ban Lifted on Jehova's Witnesses *[Hamburg DPA]* 33
Joint East-West Church Synod Session *[Hamburg DPA]* 33
PDS' Gysi Speaks on Education Issues *[ADN]* 33
Peasant's Union Founded in Suhl *[ADN]* 33
Ministry of State Security Files Published *[ADN]* 33
Stasi Facilities in Lubmin Nuclear Power Plant *[Hamburg DIE WELT 17-18 Mar]* 34
Inquiries Against Former Finance Minister Halted *[ADN]* 34
Anti-Abuse Commission Said To Continue Work *[ADN]* 34
Honecker Raps Krenz in Letter to Danish Official
[Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE SONDAG 11 Mar] 35
ADN Director General's Resignation Accepted *[ADN]* 35

HUNGARY

Fire Breaks Out at Soviet Barracks in Budapest *[MTI]* 36
Slovak Premier Rejects Czech Role on Magyars *[Budapest Radio]* 36
Parties Plan Anti-Romanian Demonstrations *[Budapest Radio]* 36
• SZDSZ, Nemeth Economic Plans 'Identical' *[NEPSZABADSAG 16 Feb]* 36
Nyers Interviewed on Domestic Developments *[Vienna VOLKSTIMME 18-19 Mar]* 39
MDF's Antall Surveys Political Situation *[NEPSZABADSAG 10 Mar]* 41

POLAND

Commentaries React to GDR Election Results 45
Gadomski Warsaw Radio Commentary 45
Government Spokeswoman Comments *[Warsaw TV]* 45
Jaruzelski Interview on Talks With Mitterrand *[Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS 10-11 Mar]* 45
Trade Problems With USSR Remain 'Unresolved' *[Warsaw Radio]* 46
Swiecicki on Trade Imbalance With Soviet Union *[PAP]* 46
Mazowiecki Comments on Upcoming U.S. Visit *[PAP]* 46
Newspapers View Relations With U.S. *[PAP]* 47
Report Examines Progress With Privatization *[TRYBUNA 12 Mar]* 47
Walesa Against 'Solidarity' as Political Party *[PAP]* 48

Kaczynski Eyes Solidarity's Future in Economy *[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC 19 Jan]* 48
Council of Europe Opens Office in Warsaw *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 15 Mar]* 52
Government Forms New Law, Order Committee *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 6 Mar]* 52
Internal Affairs Ministry Spokesman on Interpol *[TRYBUNA 9 Mar]* 53
PSL 'Odrodzenie' Outlines Economic Program *[PAP]* 53
Paper Notes Surplus in Trade Balance Figures *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 14 Mar]* 54
Mazowiecki Seeks Partial Reduction of Debt *[PAP]* 54
SDRP Supreme Council Discusses PZPR Assets *[TRYBUNA 12 Mar]* 54

ROMANIA

Hungarian Minority Deplores Lack of Rights *[Budapest Radio]* 56
'Vatra Romaneasca,' Hungarians on Minority Issue *[ROMPRES]* 56
Romanian Transylvanians Launch Demonstration *[Bucharest Radio]* 57
'Conflict' Ensues With Magyars *[ROMPRES]* 57
Report Lists 15 Injured *[AFP]* 57
Iliescu Calls for Calm *[Bucharest Radio]* 58
Demonstration Noted *[Budapest Radio]* 58
Magyar Workers Call Strike *[Budapest Radio]* 58
Tensions Continue in Tirgu Mures *[Bucharest Radio]* 59
Protesters Make Demands *[Budapest Radio]* 59
Kiraly Calls for Calm *[Bucharest Radio]* 59
Japanese Aid in Various Economic Areas Noted *[ROMPRES]* 60
Deputy Economy Minister on Decentralization *[ROMPRES]* 60
PNUC's Manzatu Meets Brazil President, Others *[ROMPRES]* 60
New Transylvanian Romanians' Party Formed *[ROMPRES]* 61
Suceava County Miners Go on Strike *[Bucharest Radio]* 61
* 'Suicide' of Ceausescu Judge Questioned *[ROMANIA LIBERA 4 Mar]* 61
* 'Radical Changes' in Police Work Alleged *[ROMANIA LIBERA 6 Mar]* 64
* Role of Macri in Timisoara Events Outlined *[ROMANIA LIBERA 4 Mar]* 66
* Stanculescu on Former Securitate Cadres *[ROMANIA LIBERA 21 Feb]* 67
* Gen Macri's Testimony on Timisoara Events *[ADEVARUL 4 Mar]* 68
* Foreign Press Note Ethnic Origins, Iron Guard 69
* TINERETUL LIBER Version *[23 Feb]* 69
* LIBERTATEA Version *[22 Feb]* 70
* 'Alarming' Signs Iron Guard May Return *[LUMEA AZI 1 Mar]* 70

YUGOSLAVIA

Call for No Serbo-Croatian in Schools Opposed *[Belgrade Radio]* 72
Slovene, Bosnian Parties Discuss Issues *[TANJUG]* 72
Slovene Greens Present Election Platform *[Ljubljana Radio]* 72
Slovene Delegation Visits Sarajevo *[Belgrade Radio]* 73
Slovene Poll on Confederation, Parties *[DELO 15 Mar]* 73
Slovene Democratic Alliance Presents Program *[DELO 15 Mar]* 74
Slovene Opposition Presents Foreign Policy Plans *[DELO 15 Mar]* 74
Social-Democratic Youth for Independent Slovenia *[TANJUG]* 75
Slovene Reform Party Not To Attend LCY Plenum *[Belgrade Radio]* 76
Start of Slovene Election Campaign Reviewed *[DELO 14 Mar]* 76
Ribicic Outlined Communists' Prospects *[BORBA 12 Mar]* 77
People's Party Set Up in Slovenia *[DELO 10 Mar]* 80
Slovene Assembly Declaration on Relations *[BORBA 10-11 MAR]* 80
Commune Refuses To Register Slovene Communists *[BORBA 8 Mar]* 81
Slovene Opposition Wants End to Political Police *[DEMOKRACIJA 6 Mar]* 81
Demos Urges Creation of Slovene Armed Forces *[TANJUG]* 81
Serbian Officials Attend Rally in Lipljan *[Belgrade Radio]* 82
Serbs Interrupt Albanian Gathering in Kosovo *[Belgrade Radio]* 82
More Kosovo Villages Join Democratic Alliance *[Pristina Radio]* 82
Kosovo Democratic Alliance Holds News Conference *[Pristina Radio]* 83
Kosovo Communities Leave Socialist Alliance *[TANJUG]* 83
Pristina Pupils Protest School Closures *[Pristina Radio]* 83

Pristina Student Center, Four Schools Closed *[TANJUG]* 84
Kosovo Trade Union Discusses Independent Unions *[TANJUG]* 84
Urosevac School Children Back University Demands *[Belgrade Radio]* 85
Serbs' Class Schedule Sparks Protests in Kosovo *[Belgrade Radio]* 85
Calls for Expulsion of Albanian Refugees Viewed *[RILINDJA 12 Mar]* 85
Kosovo Rumored To Be Reason for Militia Problem *[BORBA 8 Mar]* 86
Kosovo SAWP Presidium Views Media Coverage *[RILINDJA 6 Mar]* 87
Kosovo Youth Organization Discusses Dialogue *[TANJUG]* 88
'Croat Greenpeace Forum' Registered *[TANJUG]* 89
Kambovski Issues Warning on Pluralism *[TANJUG]* 89
Belgrade Students Union Resumes Work *[TANJUG]* 89
Journalists Form Independent Trade Union *[TANJUG]* 90
Economic Cooperation Talks With Iran End *[Belgrade Radio]* 90

Soviet President's Increased Powers Viewed

AU1903125990 Tirana ATA in English 0916 GMT 19 Mar 90

["'Democracy' of Concentrating Power"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 19 (ATA)—Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries an article an the appointment of Mikhail Gorbachev to the post of the president of the Soviet Union. It says among others .

The creation of the post of the president and Gorbachev's appointment to this post are not a procedural act. On the contrary we are faced with an advance of the Soviet political reform, which is one of the basic elements of perestroyka. Through the political reform, Gorbachev seeks to consolidate and at the same time gain ground in order to translate into life the perestroyka program in all fields.

The advance of the political reform was favoured also by the complex aggravation of the inter-national relations in the Soviet multinational federation. Particularly, the abolition of the constitutional article on the leading role of the party in the extraordinary congress of the people's deputies is a clear testimony to the process of tearing down the party structures. This incited Gorbachev to accelerate the political reform. Hence, the center of gravity of his power turns over in this way from the party to the state, at the top of whose pyramid the post of the president was picketed.

This marks for the Soviet Union, and for the other countries of Eastern Europe alike, that process our party has long since analysed and which has to do with the political ambitions of various groups that have come to power in these countries. The creation of the new presidential post in the Soviet Union with extraordinary expanded competences it is provided with, poses a strengthening and expansion of the individual power of Mikhail Gorbachev. The efforts intend to find the ways and means of solving or at least of facilitating the all-round political crisis in the Soviet Union, something which is extraordinary difficult, because the political crisis, just as the economic, social, national ones, are in the very nature of the capitalist system in power in this country.

Cuba's Castro Receives Albanian Women's Group

AU1903202990 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] A delegation of the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union headed by (Ylberja Ilazi), president of the Durres District Women's Union, which paid a visit to Cuba at the invitation of the Federation of Cuban Women and took part in this organization's fifth congress, returned home today.

During their stay in Cuba, the members of our delegation were received by Fidel Castro, president of the Council of State and the Government of the Republic of Cuba, who thanked them for taking part in the congress and said:

The Albanian people are strong and determined, and Albanian women are also brave. Our peoples have many features in common and are struggling and working determinedly to follow consistently the road they themselves have chosen.

The delegation of the Women's Union of Albania also visited centers of labor and production, social, cultural, and educational institutions.

The delegation was welcomed home at Rinas Airport by Valentina Leskaj, secretary of the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union, and other comrades. [Name indistinct], charge d'affaires ad interim of the Cuban Embassy to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was also present.

Alia Meets Students, Discusses Plenum Decisions

AU1403203490

[Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT of 11 March publishes on pages 1 and 2, a 2,800-word ATA-attributed report of a meeting between Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee first secretary, and a group of secondary school pupils and university students, which was held on 10 March in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses in Tirana.

The report begins by stating that Alia told the young people that he wanted to learn from them about the implementation of the decisions of the Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum by the youth organizations in the schools and in the university.

The report then quotes a pupil of the "Cajupi" secondary school in Tirana, Rezarta Mece, saying that the youth are proud to be working to promote socialism, in the same way that previous generations were proud to have fought for the country's liberation, adding that, having listened to Alia's speech at the plenum, the members of the youth organization decided "to become, all of us, agitators for the party's word." Further on, answering a question by Alia on what is being done with regard to the further democratization of life in schools, Rezarta said: "There are, among teachers, some who are not really qualified. As a youth organization we can meet, express our opinions freely, and suggest their removal." Alia then suggested that it would also be appropriate to discuss the matter in conjunction with the school's pedagogical council, before taking action. Rezarta then added that the youth organization had also agreed it would be appropriate for the organization itself to decide on who was to go on to the university. Alia agreed that this was not a bad idea.

Answering another question by Alia, a student of the Higher Institute of Arts, Ardian Paci, suggested that the students should have a greater say in the drafting of

educational programs: "The Ministry must not monopolize this, but should be more in touch with the schools directly and draw on the opinions of teachers and students." Another student suggested to Alia that some textbooks are outdated, and the latter agreed that students' opinions on this matter must be considered. After suggesting that pupils and students should continually read foreign literature, he asked whether their needs were being met and, having been told by another student that the number of foreign books were "limited," he said: "There must be no hesitation on this matter. It is essential that you read as much as possible and it is the duty of the teachers to explain matters to you as well as possible."

After stressing the need for young people to expand their knowledge in all subjects, Alia asked whether the pupils and students attend the open meetings of the basic AWP organizations. He was told by student Ledia Papajorgji: "Previously, only the secretary of the youth organization would attend the meetings. Now, however, a lot of young people attend the meetings of the basic organization and do not hesitate to speak about matters pertaining to the educational process.

Further on, the report cites Alia praising the youth for their contribution to building socialism. He stresses the progress made in Albania since the liberation, particularly the changes in the people's world outlook and psychology, adding: "The construction of socialism and the country's progress requires knowledge, culture, and science. It is up to young people, as a militant and progressive force, to be in the vanguard of the struggle for progress in every field."

Meets Workers, Criticizes Bureaucracy

AU1803174490

[Editorial Report] Tirana PUNA in Albanian of 9 March publishes on pages 1 and 3, a 2,500-word report of a meeting that Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee first secretary, had on 7 March with a group of workers in the Tirana Palace of Congress. The report is entitled: "The Thinking of the Workers is the Line of the Masses, It Is Democracy in Action."

The general theme of Alia's discussion with the workers concerned the practical implementation of the decisions of the Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum. Answering Alia's initial question on whether the workers discuss the plenum's decisions, a Tirana miner answers: "We workers take particular pleasure whenever we converse with the party. The party has always consulted the workers closely. The party's respect and confidence in the workers inspires us to fulfill the tasks increasingly better in order to progress on the road of socialism, which we ourselves have chosen."

Alia asked the workers what they think about holding open meetings of basic party organizations in their places of work, whether these were beneficial. Another worker answered him: "Yes, Comrade Ramiz, when the open meetings are held, the communists feel a greater commitment to make better preparations, to hold it at a high level, and to discuss really important matters of concern to the factory," adding that there is a greater concern to really be in the vanguard. A textile worker adds: "The number of participants has grown and so has the number of subjects under discussion. The thinking is clearer. Above all, the sense of responsibility among communists is higher."

Another aspect of the discussion dealt with the struggle against bureaucracy. A worker complained that when officials from the central departments visit the factory they do not come to the workshops to discuss matters with the workers, but remain closeted with the administration. He also complained that the administration is not always concerned about working conditions, adding: "However, when the workers take the matter into their own hands, everything is resolved and the bureaucracy is silenced. Our factory is now like new." Alia agrees, saying that he has seen the results on television. Another worker says that the bureaucracy frequently finds supposedly "objective" reasons for not doing things, such as "shortages of materials due to the blockade," but that these justifications are more likely than not "excuses to cover subjective shortcomings."

At the conclusion of the discussion, Ramiz Alia thanked the workers for their valuable ideas and congratulated them on their optimism, adding: "What is important now is to ensure that the line of the masses and the democratization of the country's life find concrete and real application in every field of social life, in production, administration, in the activity of the party and of the state organs, in the social sphere, the cultural sphere, in the countryside, and in the cities." Further on he stated: "The workers class must place itself even better in the vanguard of the struggle to democratize every aspect of the country's life, to pull down bureaucratic hindrances. He also stressed that "In Albania the question of independence, national sovereignty, and socialism are closely linked. There can be no independence and freedom without socialism, and there can be no socialism and progress in the interest of the broad working masses without freedom and independence."

Lukanov-Ryzhkov Talks in Moscow Noted

AU2003084390 Sofia BTA in English
2229 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, March 19 (BTA)—Mr. Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, and Mr. Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, share the opinion that the democratic changes which are under way in the two countries open good prospects for a more useful bilateral cooperation in all fields.

The two sides pointed out that the two countries' Governments have got to settle similar problems.

At today's talks it was underlined that the bilateral economic relations should be restructured by reasonably combining the market and the planned economy. It was pointed out that the transition of the foreign trade organizations in the two countries to a self-supporting basis makes them particularly exacting as to the quality, the technical level and the competitiveness of products supplied. An agreement was reached on the practical ways and possibilities of overcoming the difficulties the two countries have in fulfilling their goods supply obligations. Mr. Lukanov and Mr. Ryzhkov paid special attention to all matters related to the transition to a new system of payments in convertible currency on the basis of world-prevailing prices.

A shared desire was expressed for the restructuring of their bilateral relations and the relations within the CMEA, bringing them closer to the conditions dominating the world market.

Deputy chairmen of the Governments and ministers also took part in the talks.

Prime Minister's Visit to USSR

WA1903121690

For Soviet reportage of Prime Minister Lukanov's visit to the Soviet Union, which will include talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, please see the East Europe section of the 20 March issue of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

Romanians Jam Border Crossing to Turkey

AU1903220790 Sofia BTA in English
2123 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 19 (BTA)—New customs regulations entered into force in Turkey in March this year according to which foreign travelers are forbidden to import goods for profit-making in Turkey. They have the right to carry only their personal belongings, food to last them a few days and currency. The things which are not to be imported in Turkey can be deposited at the respective Turkish checkpoint and released when tourists are leaving Turkey. If they refuse to do so, tourists will be sent back and will be not allowed entry in Turkey any more.

According to the Turkish authorities these restriction measures have been taken mainly because of the Romanian tourists who visit Turkey frequently of late and bring large amounts of goods for profit-making purposes.

The new Turkish customs regulations and the increased influx of Romanian citizens passing via Bulgaria in transit to Turkey create an abnormal situation in the area of the border checkpoint of Malko Turnovo at the Bulgaro-Turkish border.

The Bulgarian border and customs authorities are handling the ongoing Romanian motor vehicles rhythmically, but their entry into Turkey is delayed because of the additional formalities required by the Turkish side. By March 19 a column about four kilometers in several lines has been formed in the territory of Bulgaria. About 500 passenger cars and buses (Romanian mainly) have been waiting for four or five days now. They actually block the international highway. The movement of checkpoint officers in the area is a problem and the waiting cars hinder the entry of the vehicles coming from Turkey in Bulgaria. Bottles, paper, food and other scraps and waste are littered over the vicinity. There is the danger of fires in the forest massives, because nights are cold and the waiting people build fires.

The local Bulgarian authorities are trying to maintain hygiene and order, to explain the situation and ease down tensions.

The Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is making efforts to settle the problem the soonest possible.

North Atlantic Assembly Delegation Visits

AU1903214190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
2100 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] A delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly, headed by Chairman Patrick Duffy from Great Britain, arrived in Sofia tonight. He declared that this visit represents an important step toward a new era, in which Bulgaria will be as [words indistinct].

The guests are expected to hold talks with the minister of foreign affairs and the chairman of the Parliament. They are expected to visit the Ministry of National Defense and various People's Army units.

Duffy on Relations

AU2003090290 Sofia BTA in English
2226 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 19 (BTA)—"As parliamentarians of the Western alliance we are eager to explore all the new openings in Europe to construct new positive relations", told a BTA representative Mr. Patrick Duffy, president of the North Atlantic Assembly.

Mr. Duffy is paying a visit here in connection with the five-day talks a delegation of parliamentarians from NATO are having here.

The guest expressed his hope that the visit would help along the process of the establishment of a new Europe in which Bulgaria will be as active as a partner as Britain is.

Mr. Patrick Duffy spoke about the long good relations between the parliaments of Britain and Bulgaria.

The delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly will have talks with Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs; Mr. Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly; and with representatives of the Ministry of Defense. The guests will visit a military unit.

British Agriculture Minister Visits

AU1703162090 Sofia BTA in English 1450 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 17 (BTA)—Mr John Selwyn Gummer, British minister of agriculture, fisheries and food, who is paying a visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the Bulgarian Government, today had meetings with Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mr Belcho Belchev, minister of finance.

He was familiarized with the political situation in Bulgaria and with the views of the government concerning the settlement of the country's economic problems. Special attention was paid to the forthcoming implementation of a radical economic reform.

During the talks attention was focused on questions related to agriculture and the food industry and the possibilities of extending the two countries' cooperation in this field. The guest expressed his conviction that there are a number of ways Bulgaria can be helped along in the implementation of the anti-crisis programme in this sector. Britain is ready to send experts to Bulgaria. Giving up ecologically clean technologies to be applied in agriculture will be also of great importance. Besides agriculture and plant protection, there are good prospects for interaction in the food industry where joint enterprises could be set up. There are conditions for the establishment of such an enterprise in partnership with the Rickey Metal Company.

Views were exchanged on speeding up the signature of an agreement on the mutual protection of investments.

Mr Gummer showed interest in the preparation of the land law, pricing in agriculture and the forthcoming elections.

Minister on Cooperation

AU1903125690 Sofia BTA in English 0948 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 19 (BTA)—The British minister of agriculture, fisheries and food, John Gummer, thinks that Bulgaria and Britain can cooperate in many spheres.

We cannot start cooperation, however, before becoming convinced that real democratic changes have taken place in Bulgaria, he said in an interview for KOOPERATIVNO SELO. Mr John Gummer also said that the British businessmen will invest capitals only if they have guarantees for a stable price policy.

As an example about the possibilities for cooperation he gives the Bulgaro-British company Ricky-Metal-Systems for potato production. The British market is familiar with the Bulgarian companies "Vinimpex", "Bulgarplodexport" and "Mlechna Promishlenost". Good technical cooperation is developing between the associations "Rodopa", "Vegetable Oils" and "Variety Seeds". Wines, white brined cheese and some fruit juices are well received and can be further marketed.

According to John Gummer an impulse for trade and techno-scientific cooperation might be expected after the signing of trade and economic cooperation agreement between Bulgaria and the EEC, by eliminating the import quotas for Bulgarian agricultural produce, the possible admittance of Bulgaria in GATT and the liberalization of the Bulgarian legislature.

Foreign Minister Discusses Unity in Europe

AU1803215690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Mar 90 pp 1,3

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Boyko Dimitrov by Petur Bochukov; place and date not given: "Aspiration For Integration in United Europe"]

[Text] [Bochukov] The pronounced interest of West European governments and institutions in the changes taking place in our country is an established fact. The foreign ministers of numerous countries, leaders of the European Council and of GATT, parliamentarians, businessmen, and scientists from abroad recently visited Sofia, and more such visits are expected in the near future.

This interest in our country's democratization processes is not accidental. It expresses support and solidarity with the processes in question. At the same time, in order to join these European institutions, Bulgaria must convince them that the changes under way in our country are genuine, that their intensity and scope should be taken seriously. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is playing a particularly important role in this respect.

Can you describe the changes that have occurred in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 10 November 1989?

[Dimitrov] The main aspects of the changes are reflected by the cadres' renewal within the ministry, by the new accents and priorities of our foreign policy, by our more extensive contacts with the public, and by more glasnost.

Let us say a few words about the cadres. I now have three deputies,—two deputy ministers fewer than in the past. All three of them are new appointments, they are professional diplomats. A renewal of the ambassadors' corps

was also initiated—not only because numerous ambassadors have reached retirement age, but also because we would like these posts to be occupied by career diplomats, with greater emphasis on more opportunities for the young generation. This process continues and the current stage of development is expected to be completed within a couple of months. Individuals who have disgraced themselves are also among those dismissed. I wish for this process to be accelerated. At the same time, I think that it is better to have unoccupied personnel posts, rather than promoting people who are unqualified, or lacking the necessary professional and moral qualifications.

[Bochukov] So many things have changed in our country over the last months. Have these changes influenced our foreign policy?

[Dimitrov] Since 10 November 1989, the basic function of our foreign policy should be to contribute and act as a factor in accelerating the democratic changes, in guaranteeing their stability. In our case, this means that we should open up our country for cooperation and exchange in the economic and cultural spheres; that we should be open to information, and especially open up to Europe, to the more developed countries whose experience we urgently need. I am convinced that the foreign policy factor, in cooperation with the domestic policy processes, is assuming a new quality.

In my view, cooperation with the developed European countries represents an important incentive for the democratization processes, and along with this, it represents an additional guarantee for the irreversible nature of this process. Bulgaria's striving for integration with a united Europe assumes primary importance in the transition toward a pluralistic, multiparty parliamentary democracy and market economy.

It is in this context that I evaluate the importance of the talks held over the last two months with foreign ministers of major West European countries and with representatives of important European institutions. These talks contribute to increased confidence in the changes under way in our country, and to the conviction that the changes are irreversible. I also think that shared experience and well-meaning advice, and sometimes even the critical remarks we hear from our visitors, such as government leaders and representatives of various parties, including opposition forces, are useful for all of us. This dialogue, this active and regular exchange of cooperation, encourages us and assists us in more confidently advancing and in accelerating our democratic renewal; it helps us to avoid major shortcomings and to accomplish this renewal with a minimum of political and social sacrifices.

I cannot agree with those who link the process of Bulgaria's integration with Europe—the foreign financial, economic, technological, and other assistance—to certain deadlines, or conditions, such as, for example, to the condition that practical action can be adopted only after the elections. I think that any wait-and-see attitude is erroneous in this respect. This would only artificially delay the democratic process in our country.

[Bochukov] Can you describe the priorities of Bulgarian foreign policy today?

[Dimitrov] Our integration with the system and institutions of political and economic cooperation, of disarmament and security in a new Europe, which is about to overcome its artificial division, has assumed a particular importance. This is the basis of our foreign political activities and it characterizes all our actions. The majority of our Western partners are responding with understanding to this approach. They also respond with understanding to Bulgaria's wish that we should not be discriminated against on the grounds that our country is ruled by the Communist Party. I think that the free, democratic elections that are scheduled to take place in June will play a positive role in Bulgaria's integration with Europe.

In talking about our new foreign policy priorities, I would like to stress the objectively required and justified continuity. This applies, above all, to our relations with the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, which play a basic role in guaranteeing our national security. A special role in this respect is assigned to our bilateral Friendship and Mutual Assistance Treaty with the Soviet Union. In the future, the new pan-European system of security will be based, to an ever growing extent, on the political guarantees of disarmament, on the homogeneity of democratic institutions, and on the approach toward the guranteeing of human rights and freedoms. The process of transition from the present state of affairs to this new situation will be characterized by the fact that the basic military political alliances will continue to exist, even if in a different form, and this process should be implemented with strict discipline, without any reprecussions likely to affect the security of great and small individual countries, including Bulgaria.

We also will continue to attach priority importance to our relations with the countries situated in our neighboring region and in our immediate vicinity, namely with the Balkan states, and also in a broader context, with the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean and some Middle East countries.

[Bochukov] It is a well-known fact that a considerable part, namely over 85 percent, of our national income is based on foreign trade. How do you see the contribution of your ministry to guaranteeing the most favorable foreign markets for our country?

[Dimitrov] Until recently there was talk about an "economic use" for diplomacy. In my opinion, this was a primitive concept that only resulted in duplicating the work of embassies and trade missions. We are now trying to organize such matters on a more realistic basis—each of us should competently deal with his specific tasks. The

main task of diplomacy is to promote political confidence and favorable contractual-legal conditions for business negotiations and deals.

[Bochukov] It is generally understood that the smaller a country, the more active, flexible, and intelligent its foreign policy should be. In our country, people often say that tiny Bulgaria is maintaining too many embassies with numerous personnel. What is your response to this statement?

[Dimitrov] It is our policy to conduct a thrifty and effective policy, in accordance with the real conditions and opportunities existing in our country. Megalomania actually existed in our diplomacy prior to 10 November 1989. We have diplomatic relations with 122 states and 80 embassies. Approximately 500 diplomats are working in these missions, and this number is evidently excessive. We are preparing measures for considerable reductions: We are going to close down approximately 15 missions, while the number of diplomatic personnel will be reduced by approximately 20 percent. These are the measures envisioned for the time being. I am convinced that any further, sudden reductions are impossible. This would just be a propaganda campaign, likely to result in shortcomings and pressure for corrections, that would, in turn, induce a new increase of personnel.

[Bochukov] People in our country who are unfamiliar with the work of the Foreign Affairs Ministry usually evaluate the profession of a diplomat as a source of considerable, and even very high income. What are the wages of Bulgarian diplomats in Bulgaria, and what are their wages compared with other countries' diplomats when they are serving abroad?

[Dimitrov] The basic wages of employees on the payroll in our ministry do not differ from those of civil servants in other minstries, and are even somewhat lower. These are a few specific data: An attache is entitled to monthly wages amounting to 210 leva; the wages of the ranks between third secretaries and counselors vary between 230 and 390 leva; a minister plenipotentiary is entitled to monthly wages amounting to 470 leva, an ambassador to 510 leva, and a deputy minister of foreign affairs earns 600 leva. The minister earns 800 leva.

The wages in foreign currency to which diplomats working abroad are entitled are certainly more attractive. However, considering the local prices and a minimum existence level, compared with the wages of diplomats from other East European countries, let alone those of the developed and the majority of developing states, our diplomats' wages are considerably more modest. This, however, depends on a country's economic, and especially the currency, situation.

[Bochukov] In the lobby of your ministry, I saw an annoucement on the board that a meeting of young diplomats on the subject of the "pan-European home" was scheduled to the take place. Someone had scribbled the following remark in pencil below the announcement: "I have no home of my own" (Signed: A young diplomat). Would you comment on this remark?

[Dimitrov] I have not seen the announcement, but the remark does not surprise me. As many as 269 housing applications have been submitted to the ministry for the time being, 73 of which are described as extremely urgent. There are 119 applications divided into different categories according to the extent of their urgency. Our ministry is no exception—the housing problem affects our personnel as badly as it does all citizens of our capital.

[Bochukov] May I ask you some personal questions?

[Dimitrov] Of course.

[Bochukov] Can you describe Boyko Dimitrov's working day?

[Dimitrov] I must admit that I am not an early riser. My working day starts at 0900 in the morning, but I can rarely go home before 2000 at night. I am busy every Saturday, and sometimes even on Sundays.

[Bochukov] Does that leave you enough time for reading? How do you spend your free time?

[Dimitrov] I do not have much time for reading (except for working documents and papers). Only in the evening, after work, I manage to read the newspapers. I love books, cinema, hiking, and keeping in touch with friends, but...there is not enough time for all these things.

Emigration to Canada, Sweden, Austria

AU1703163090 Sofia BTA in English
1458 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 17 (BTA)—RABOTNICHESKO DELO announces that from January 1 through February 26 this year 749 Bulgarians passed through the immigration offices at the airports in Montreal and Gander. Another 218 people declared their desire to emigrate when they landed at the Shannon Airport in Ireland en route to Havana.

According to RABOTNICHESKO DELO since October last year five thousand Bulgarians went to Sweden and more than one thousand to Austria.

Debate at Roundtable Centers on Elections

AU2003085790 Sofia BTA in English
2209 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 19 (BTA)—What National Assembly should the elections be held for? This was the main point at issue debated by the delegations of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) at today's session of the national roundtable talks.

The BCP representatives made objections against the idea of the UDF to elect a Constituent National Assembly. BCP Supreme Council Chairman Aleksandur Lilov said that if the BCP wins the elections, it would propose to form a coalition cabinet. The experts of the UDF insisted on electing a broad-based Constituent Assembly which would work out a new Constitution to provide the basis for the implementation of a radical reform and lend stability to the country. The present National Assembly could not carry out these tasks. Only a new parliament will be able to elect a responsible government, the UDF representatives said. The UDF proposes to set up a Committee for Constitutional Supervision.

There were differences of opinions with regard to the election system, too. The UDF delegation are for the proportional system, while the election bill suggests a mixed system, most of the national representatives being electable according to the majority system.

The dissension on these two points characterized today's session which was to discuss the bill of the amendments to the constitution, the political parties and the election bills.

The three bills should be discussed by the National Assembly at its session scheduled for March 28. According to the statute of the roundtable the participants in it are obliged to exert influence in the legislative bodies and secure the implementation of the agreements they have reached. The delegations are close to reaching consensus on the political parties bill, which envisages a ban on political activity at workplaces.

The working groups of the roundtable will continue their sessions. At the next general meeting on March 26 the participants will revert to the three bills.

Today the UDF made public their declaration on the memorandum of the Government on the economic policy and the need of international assistance which was presented to the Commission of the European Community in February this year. The document of the Government is assessed as a tendentious political step, suggested at a moment when the country is entering a phase of pre-election campaign. It is characterized as inconsistent and ambiguous—the Government declares the desire of the country to advance its dialogue with the EC and the United States, adopting at the same time "an economic programme against which many objections in principle can be raised and a lot of faults can be found", it is said in the UDF declaration.

The UDF expresses its disagreement in principle with the integration of Bulgaria in the European Community. The UDF sees in the memorandum of the Government a preliminary request for cooperation and interaction with the EC member-nations aimed at receiving international support for the future Bulgarian Government, but it is solely the future government of Bulgaria that will have the power to bear responsibility and implement the economic reform in the country. "The UDF considers that the consultations with EC representatives on all matters, the preparations for legal binding and assuming contractual obligations included, are necessary and extremely important. Their extension and the concrete practical realization of any agreements reached would be the main objective of the new Bulgarian Government."

The declaration says that the present Government should refrain from adopting concrete decisions which, having in mind its political biases, may have a lasting negative impact on the economy and the development of the country.

Binding the different political forces in the country by a document that states the position of the BCP and is of temporary character is qualified as an improvident political risk that may have unpredictable effects on the future of the country.

Investigation of Zhivkov Extended

AU1903215290 Sofia BTA in English 1849 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 19 (BTA)—The probe period of Todor Zhivkov is extended by two months, the Office of the Prosecutor General has announced. The Prosecutor General confirmed the measure "remanded in custody taken in custody" applied with regard to the accused.

The motive for the decision is "the enormous amount of facts and circumstances that will have to be clarified, their intricacy and the necessity to make a thorough investigation and assessment".

The Office of the Prosecutor General informs that more than 130 witnesses have been interrogated in connection with Zhivkov's case. Some of the 39 audits and dozens of checks and inspections begun during the investigation will be shortly completed. For the time being only two Western states have responded to the request of the Bulgarian competent authorities—giving negative replies at that—as to the question if Zhivkov and his family have opened bank accounts in their territories.

The Office of the Prosecutor General refutes the information about Zhivkov and his family having embezzled huge amounts as an exaggeration. It announces that the fee paid to the authoritative specialist of the USA, Prof. William Fields, who took part in the medical consultations concerning Zhivkov's health, was 500 U.S. dollars and not 50,000 as the Bulgarian radio has recently announced.

The competent authorities are making checks of more of the numerous letters and reports accusing Todor Zhivkov of real and hypothetical acts, absurdities not missing. For example, a person "accused" Zhivkov of handing over to the police participants in the anti-fascist uprising in Bulgaria of September 1923, but at that time Zhivkov was only 12 years old...

The Office of the Prosecutor General informs about the course of the investigation against Zhivkov's relatives

and "aides". The Bulgarian authorities have informed Interpol that Zhivkov's grandchild Todor Ivanov Slavkov who is now abroad is wanted on rape charges. The Bulgarian citizen Orlin Stefanov Nozharov and the citizen of Hungary Zsolt Haidu who are outside Bulgaria and of unknown abode are also wanted under the same investigation.

Dimitrovgrad Ecological Complaints 'Justified'

AU1903214890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] The sharp reaction of the Dimitrovgrad population prompted by the town's ecological situation is totally justified. This was confirmed at today's meeting of the National Assembly Commission on Environmental Protection.

The investigations conducted by a group of National Assembly deputies confirm that the situation in the area is the result of applying ecologically unfit technologies and of using outdated equipment. It is also a result of the violations of ecological rules committed in the past.

The report of the commission and the draft resolutions were discussed with the participation of deputy ministers, high-ranking officials of the Dimitrovgrad Municipal People's Council, public figures, and National Assembly deputies from the area. Representatives of various parties and movements and citizens of Dimitrovgrad insisted upon more comprehensive ecological decisions and especially on speeding up their implementations.

Podkrepa National Conference Opens

AU1703175190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] A national conference of the Podkrepa Independent Trade Union Federation opened at the Sofia Bulgaria Hall this morning. Our reporter Petur Donchev reports from the conference:

[Donchev] What is the present state of the federation, how is it expected to develop in the future, with the fundamental changes under way in our country?—these are the essential questions that the delegates at the national conference are concerned about. According to the report read by the federation's chairman and according to the statements of the speakers who already took the floor, Podkrepa is gathering momentum. In his report, Dr. Konstantin Trenchev discussed the emergence, the development, and past activities of the organization, on the draft statute and on the programmatic declaration of the federation which is expected to be adopted at this conference. As to whether Podkrepa is a political organization and, if so, what made this necessary, Dr. Trenchev stated the following in his report:

[Begin recording] [Trenchev] Under all totalitarian systems, including the one in Bulgaria, every organization that tries to become independent from the party monopoly is forced to turn into a political organization. It cannot (?help) adopting a definite stand because all (?trade union) programs are determined by the totalitarian apparatus and an independent organization is forced to struggle against the apparatus. This is a peculiar, compulsory politization that should gradually diminish with the normalization of public life. Nevertheless, I repeat that no organization whatsoever can develop a normal activity without being confronted to some extent with the party apparatus. These degrees of politization should be well understood by the authorities in order to stop the speculations that Podkrepa is a political party because it is a member of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] and supports the uonion's program for radical political reforms in our society. Podkrepa thinks that only a free democratic (?society) for which the UDF is struggling is capable of providing real conditions for a normal, trade union activity.

[Donchev] At this point I would like to recall the statement that Podkrepa made at last night's news conference: In the elections, we will support the UDF because they are our friends and allies. As to the wave of strikes, the speaker provided the following data:

In January and February, 2[illegible]4 strikes took place in which over 100,000 people participated. The initiators are mainly workers and employees, while only 18 of the strikes were initiated by Podkrepa member organizations, according to Dr. Trenchev. In the remaining 80 percent of cases the strikes erupted spontaneously, according to the speaker, after which the established initiative committees asked for the support of the Podkrepa Trade Union Federation.

At this moment the delegates are discussing a draft statute and the programmatic declaration of the Podkrepa Independent Trade Union Federation, and I must tell you also that there are chances for the federation to be turned into a confederation, if the delegates vote in favor of this solution. The conference continues. [end recording]

Congress Reelects Trenchev

AU1803202890 Sofia BTA in English 1856 GMT 18 Mar 90

["K. Trenchev Reelected Podkrepa's Leader"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 18 (BTA)—The Podkrepa Confederation of Labour (Podkrepa-CL) unites free, representative and democratic trade unions. The organization will strive for economic and social justice, for bread, peace and freedom, it is said in the programme declaration adopted today by the Foundation Congress of the Podkrepa-CL.

The congress approved the statute of the organization which is made up of federations uniting workers of the respective economic branches and of territorial unions

on the basis of the principles of democracy, freedom of thought, mutual assistance and decentralization.

Podkrepa will defend the freedoms and interests of the working people in compliance with the Bulgarian Constitution and the Bulgarian legislation, the agreements of Helsinki, Madrid and Vienna and Convention 87 of the World Labour Organization which Bulgaria is a party to. The confederation will fight for a just, humane and civilized society and for a market economy in the conditions of which all forms of properties are given equal opportunities.

The resolution adopted by the congress supports Podkrepa's position that the Bulgarian Communist Party has not yet given clear proof that it is a democratic force. The Communists who are for a democratic civil society are hailed.

The resolution expresses Podkrepa's interest to carry in its cooperation with the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), which is defined as "the only political force that can resist the attempts to delay the process of democratization". It is specified, however, that in case the UDF wins the elections, Podkrepa will leave the UDF to guarantee its independence of any political party or organization whatsoever.

Podkrepa will maintain "non-binding contacts", but will not conduct close cooperation with the Confederation of Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions, because the latter is still bound to the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the nomenclature, it is said in the resolution.

The participants in the congress unanimously applied for membership in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Confederation of Labour.

The congress approved a cable of protest to the Embassy of Iraq in connection with the execution of the British journalist Farzad Bazoft and a cable of greetings to the Government of independent Lithuania.

Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, founder and chairman of the Podkrepa Independent Labour Federation, was elected president of the Podkrepa-CL by a large majority.

The congress will continue its work next week when the other ruling bodies will be elected.

Platform of Independent Union Confederation

AU2802163890

[Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 27 February on pages 1 and 3 publishes the 2,500-word "Platform of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria" (the new confederation that replaced the former trade unions officially sanctioned by the discredited Zhivkov regime) and, on page 3, the 3,500-word "Statute of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria."

The text of the "Platform" consists of a preamble followed by three numbered sections entitled:

"1. People's Power and Humanitarianism Are Indivisible."
"2. Immediate Changes in the Economy—A Condition for a Radical Solution to the Economic Crisis."
"3. Our Chief Goal Is Man's Social Security."

The preamble reviews the dramatic sociopolitical changes since 10 November 1989, voices the confederation's alarm over "the deteriorating socioeconomic situation" and its support for "speedy and decisive anticrisis decisions and actions."

Section 1 of the platform states the confederation's support for "a speedy transition from the despotic system to a democratic organization of society," the key elements being the "drafting of a new constitution," "legal settlement of property issues," free elections, and a reform of the political system.

Section 2 sets out the confederation's proposals for an "anticrisis program," which according to the "Platform" should include: "Resolute removal of all barriers that hold back production and stifle economic initiative;" "revival of the status of the enterprises as independent economic units;" "rejection of the nomenclature system for selecting leaders;" "elimination of state control over the allocation of material resources;" "restriction of subsidies and state investments to the minimum;" giving priority to restoring agriculture; "repeal of the present useless decree on economic activity;" finding solutions to the "acute ecological problems" and improving working conditions; adoption of a law on property; and "eliminating the monopoly of state property." However, the confederation states its "opposition to privatization, which would make the rich richer and the poor poorer," demands social protection for the workers during the transition to the market mechanism, and supports the settling of workers' demands through "equal dialogue," using the strike weapon only as a last resort.

Section 3 of the "Platform" reviews "the serious crisis in the social field." Though advocating an market-based economy, the confederation states that it must not be obtained at the price of mass unemployment. It demands a "new system for labor employment," "free determination and negotiation of wages in accordance with the inflation processes," and a guaranteed indexed minimum wage. The concluding paragraphs relate to health at work, social security payments, and the need to improve education and health care.

The "Statute" on page 3 consists of the following five sections, subdivided into 38 articles:

1. Definition, Aims, and Tasks.
2. Membership in the Confederation.
3. Organs of the Confederation.
4. Financial and Economic Activity.
5. Concluding Provisions.

In Section 1, Article 1 states: "The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (CITUB) is a voluntary national association of autonomous and equal professional and professional-creative unions, federations, and other organizations with a syndical orientation." These, according to Article 3, are "independent of political parties and organizations, state organs and structures, employers, economic and administrative leaderships and organizations, and other social organizations and movements." Sections 4 through 9 detail the aims of the confederation, which are generally similar to those of all free trade unions. Section 2, composed of Articles 10 through 20, lays down the procedures for joining the confederation and leaving it, members' rights, rules for expelling members, and other provisions. Each corporate member is required to pay 10 percent of its income from its own membership subscriptions to the confederation.

Under Section 3, containing Articles 21 through 28, Article 21 states that "the supreme organ of the CITUB is the congress," which is normally convened every three years by the Coordinating Council. An extraordinary congress may be demanded by a minimum of one-quarter of the members. In addition, the confederation is to hold annual conferences to report on past work and decide on future tasks. Article 23 states that "the activity of the CITUB between congresses is organized and conducted by a Coordinating Council," consisting of a chairman, deputy chairmen, secretary, and the leaders of member organizations with more than 5,000 members. Other articles regulate the activities of the Congress, Coordinating Council, Finance-Control Commission, and territorial bodies.

In Section 5, the final Article 38 states that "this statute was adopted at the Constituent Congress of the CITUB by an absolute majority on 17 February 1990, and came into force from this date."

Ilya Minev Reelected to Human Rights Society

AU1703212490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] A national conference of the Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights in Bulgaria was held in Plovdiv today. From the very beginning of the conference, sharp criticism was addressed against the central leadership of the association related to the decisions of the conference held on 17 February 1990 in Sofia, whose legitimacy was severely questioned. Part of the Sofia delegates opposed this trend and, despite the fact that the conference was declared valid, left the hall.

The rest of the delegates from all over the country, however, unamimously adopted the two following declarations that were submitted to BTA:

The first declaration announces the reinstatement of the former leadership of the association and of its chairman, Ilya Minev. The declaration states that Rumen Vodenicharov, the current leader, had unjustifiably misappropriated this position.

The second declaration announces that Rumen Vodenicharov and Georgi [name indistinct] are to be expelled from the organization for their treacherous activities against the interests of the defenders of human rights in Bulgaria. A new leadership, chaired by Ilya Minev, was elected. Stefan Vulkov was elected first deputy chairman. Stefan Vulkov, Dr. Petur Abrashev, and Dimitur Brankov were appointed delegates to the national roundtable.

Lilov on Changing Communist Party's Name

AU1603124890 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 16 Mar 90 pp 28-29

[Interview with Bulgarian Communist Party Chairman Aleksandur Lilov by Sigrid Poellinger; place and date not given: "We Do Not Want To Shed Blood"]

[Text] [Poellinger] The communist parties in most of the socialist countries have changed their names. Are the Bulgarians planning something similiar?

[Lilov] Yes. We believe that in this way the party's development under the historic conditions in our country and the world will be expressed. In the future the party will probably be called the "Bulgarian Socialist Party." This question will be decided in a party referendum by the end of the month.

[Poellinger] To what do you attribute the decline of the system in Bulgaria?

[Lilov] This happened because this system proved to be unable to implement the ideas and values of socialism: freedom, democracy, justice, human rights, equality before the law, equal opportunities for the development of every member of the society, and freedom of thought and opinion. In short, this system was authoritarian and got into a severe crisis. The condition for our further development is the dismantling of the system....this word is now generally used.

[Poellinger] The government and the opposition agreed on further steps. What is planned?

[Lilov] We believe that Bulgaria needs a government with a broad popular basis to solve the country's problems. Representatives of all political forces should participate. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to translate this proposal into reality in the present stage. We hope that such an extension will be implemented in the next elections, which will be held in our country this year.

[Poellinger] When are free elections planned?

[Lilov] In June this year. It would be inappropriate for our country to postpone the solution of its pressing economic, political, and legal questions for long. The problems are too pressing.

[Poellinger] Will Bulgaria remain in the Warsaw Pact in any case and do think it necessary to change the structures of the alliance?

[Lilov] Regarding the Warsaw Pact, for us it is closely linked with the guarantee of the inviolability of the borders and the security of our country. There is no state in the world for which this question is not the most important. Dealing with the prospects resulting from this question, I believe that the security of the borders of every European country can only be reliably guaranteed by a comprehensive European security system. In my opinion, this is the future and all European states are interested in it.

[Poellinger] Can you envision a government coalition and if so, with whom?

[Lilov] Yes, a coalition is possible, and it can be a broad one with all political parties of Bulgaria, as well as a (small) coalition of various parties with nonparty members participating. We will know after some months what the future coalition will be like. I want to stress that even after an electoral victory with an absolute majority, our party will not give up the idea of a coalition government. The interests of the nation come before those of the parties.

[Poellinger] Have you come to an agreement with Turkey on the status of the Muslim minorities, and can the Turkish emigrants return?

[Lilov] We are holding talks with Turkey on the development of our bilateral relations. On our party's initiative, the Bulgarian Government already passed special resolutions and adopted relevant documents on 29 December 1989, which did away with the violation of the rights of the Turkish-speaking citizens of our country permitted by the former authoritarian regime. Now they have the same rights as the other Bulgarian citizens. This is in complete agreement with our Constitution and the final document of the Vienna CSCE conference. Regarding those Turks who left our country, approximately 120,000 of them have returned, and this process continues. Bulgaria expects from Turkey truly positive changes in the development of our bilateral relations, the renunciation of any illusions, various examples, and also positive changes regarding the human rights in Turkey itself.

[Poellinger] Are you striving for new relations with the European Free Trade Association, the EC, or the Council of Europe?

[Lilov] Yes, we are striving for the development of very close relations with the joint European political and economic institutions, as well as of bilateral relations. Bulgaria is part of Europe, and opening up to Europe belongs to the main lines of Bulgarian foreign policy. We must make a worthy contribution to the development of a new Europe. And we rely on European support.

[Poellinger] Italian Foreign Minister De Michelis proposed a Balkan-Adria working group along the lines of the Danube-Adria working group. Can you envision such a thing?

[Lilov] Mr. De Michelis has just visited Bulgaria. I had a talk with him. And we stated concurrently that the Balkan-Danube or Balkan-Adria region provides opportunities for cooperation as part of the development of a uniform Europe. Regional contributions to the establishment of a new Europe are very important. It is my personal opinion that we must neither ignore these opportunities nor resist the great idea of a new peaceful and uniform Europe. Regarding European interrelations, more creativity, imagination and new thinking are essential.

[Poellinger] The Romanian change was achieved with blood on the street. Does this danger also exist in Bulgaria?

[Lilov] As a result of the terrible consequences of the tyrannical Ceausescu regime, Romania stumbled into a tragedy. I would call these bloody events political barbarism. This is another argument on which the clear and consistent policy of our party for a peaceful transition to democratic socialism was founded. We advocate dialogue between the political forces, reforms, radical changes under the conditions of peace and stability, and not under the conditions of bloody internal disputes. This is our strategy. This is our policy. In the opposite case, the people have to pay a terrible price, as shown by Romania's example. Bulgaria wants to proceed peacefully and honestly on the road to a peaceful democratic European state. We prefer construction to destruction and political reason and wisdom to social cataclysms. We believe that this is a realistic objective.

Data on People Repressed After 1944 Revealed

AU1803203390 Sofia BTA in English
1908 GMT 18 Mar 90

["How Many Were Repressed in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 18 (BTA)—About 180-200 thousand people were repressed in Bulgaria after 1944, Dimitur Batalov, chairman of the Club of the Repressed After 1945, stated in an interview aired by the Bulgarian Television. He pointed out that the number of victims who were forcibly made to join the cooperative farms is not included in this figure. In his view they are almost one million. According to the data announced by Mr. Batalov after 1944 about 18 thousand people were killed without trial and 2,500 were executed under death sentences.

Dimitur Batalov himself was a victim of the repressions. His two brothers were killed in the 50's and his father was sent to a camp.

There were 30 prisons and camps in Bulgaria where the people considered inconvenient by the authorities were sent. Another participant in the Every Sunday television programme told about the concentration camp in the town of Lovech. This camp was especially ill-famed and was set up after 1956 the year when the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] held its April plenum, i.e., the plenum which is said to have made a break with the personality cult practices.

The Club of the Repressed was founded in the spring of last year, before the former state and BCP leader Todor Zhivkov was ousted. One of the purposes of the club was to start activity aimed at the restoration of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party. The organization is going on with the investigation of the repressions. There are about [word indistinct] thousand people who can still give information. The club insists on the absolute political and legal rehabilitation of the victims of the repressions.

Lilov Meets Plovdiv Public

AU1603215590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Aleksandur Lilov, Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Supreme Council chairman, met Communists from the Plovdiv party organization in one of the Plovdiv Fair buildings tonight. He pointed out in his statement that the party is proceeding along the path of radical reforms and renewal. In reviewing the achievements of the last months, Aleksandur Lilov pointed out that the processes of democratization, the mobilization of the entire people, and their participation in solving all problems are proceeding successfully. The development of the country's democratization also depends upon the newly emerging political forces, he stated.

Aleksandur Lilov assessed the political situation in Bulgaria that, according to him, is characterized by the dynamic force of political changes and by the Bulgarian people's increasing involvement in political life.

Aleksandur Lilov also explained the requirement for changing the BCP's name. He also spoke on the need for specific decisions aimed at overcoming the country's political, economic, and ecological crisis. Following this, he answered numerous questions from the audience.

The establishment of the Young Communists' Club was also announced at the meeting.

Aleksandur Lilov also met representatives of the creative, artistic intelligentsia and chairmen of newly founded party clubs, which are based on the common interests of their members, in Plovdiv today.

Aleksandur Lilov's meeting, which was hosted by the newly founded University Forum Club, was attended by representatives of teachers and students of all higher educational institutions in Plovdiv.

Fatherland Front Leader Discusses Tasks

AU1603132590

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 15 March on page 3 carries a 2,500-word interview with Ginyo Ganev, Fatherland Front National Council chairman, by Stanislav Drumeshki, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent, place and place not given, entitled: "Democracy For All Through Union of All." The interview deals with the structure, role, and tasks of the Fatherland Front under the present political conditions.

Asked about the "opinion of many people that the Fatherland Front is dead," Ganev answers:

"The Fatherland Front really is dead as the political coalition it was during World War II and the first years after 9 September 1944. It ceased to exist with the consolidation of single-party control over the government. However, the Fatherland Front is alive as an idea for unifying various forces and groups and as a sociopolitical organization at the places of living."

Asked about relations with the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], Ganev answers: "The Fatherland Front was a satellite of the BCP. However, it is not a satellite any longer!"

Ganev views the Fatherland Front as an "organization that offers a broad field for the initiative of every Bulgarian citizen, regardless of the fact whether he also is a member of certain party." He repeatedly asserts that "the Fatherland Front has finally rejected the claims of a certain party to guide it." He points out that the "Fatherland Front does not and will not participate in any attempts to insert political elements in public life." The organization "will not fulfill economic or any other tasks that are the direct responsibility of the relevant state and other organs." In addition Ganev asserts that "the Fatherland Front sees its social defense function as its basic task."

Asked about the Fatherland's Front attitude toward the new political parties and movements in Bulgaria, Ganev answers:

"The Fatherland Front views the newly created parties and associations with understanding in anything related to their role in developing the democratic process in Bulgaria. Our attitude to them is also expressed by our readiness to maintain contacts of any kind with them in the name of the all-Bulgarian and all-people's interests."

In conclusion Ganev points out that the "Fatherland Front cannot, must not, and decisively does not want to have any priority or monopoly rights in the election process, as the situation was until now." During the

election campaign, the organization will facilitate contacts between the voters and the candidates, and promote "national consensus, democracy, and the common interests."

Aleksandrov Meets Maritsa-East Workers

AU1503201390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] On 15 March at the Maritsa-East Economic Enterprise, a conversation took place. Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Chudomir Aleksandrov, Committee on Power Supply Chairman Nikola Todoriev, economic leaders, and representatives of the workers from the mines, the electric power plants, the central repairs enterprise, and the Energoremont Technological Combine took part in the conversation, which dealt with production problems and certain tasks related to the social program, whose implementation has been postponed for many years.

The problems were profoundly and frankly posed at the meeting. Special attention was devoted to the necessity to requalify the labor categories in certain places of work in the greatest center of our energy supply and industry.

Refraining from the lavish promises that characterized the totalitarian system and that were quickly forgotten immediately after being given, Chudomir Aleksandrov pointed out that the issues that had been posed will find their solution in June 1990, when the specially established governmental commission will express its opinion. The Maritsa-East miners, power supply workers, constructors, and other workers reject the strike as the sole means of resolving the disputes that have emerged, and have not used it so far. They preferred the dialogue that was conducted today.

National Democratic Union Becomes Party

AU1503151790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Mar 90 p 6

[Text] The Provisional Executive Council of the Bulgarian National Democratic Union announces that it has adopted a decision to change its organizational structure and become a political party named the Bulgarian National Democratic Party [Bulgarska Natsionalna Demokraticheska Partiya] (BNDP).

The request of corresponding member Professor Dr. Nikolay Genchev to withdraw from the post of chairman for reasons of health has been granted.

Changes in BTA Management Made

AU1303182890 Sofia BTA in English 1715 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—Bulgaria's State Council has issued a Decree relieving Mr Boyan Georgiev Traykov of his duties as director general of the Bulgarian News Agency (BTA) due to another appointment.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers has issued an order dismissing Mr Nencho Khranov as first deputy director general of the Bulgarian News Agency.

Mr Georgi Todorov has been appointed acting director general of the BTA until the appointment of a new chief of the agency.

Mr Georgi Todorov, 56, a French philology graduate, has worked at the BTA for 30 years as a reporter, an editor, an editor-in-chief of the PARALELI weekly and of the international news desk department. He served as a BTA correspondent in Algiers, Rome and Paris. Since December 22, 1989 he has been deputy director general of the agency.

Newsprint Shortage Affects Publication

AU1303124690 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 11, 12 Mar 90 pp 2, 3

[Ivan Rachev article: "There Is No Newsprint"]

[Text] Three factors best illustrate the changes that have taken place in our country since 10 November 1989: The constant emergence of new political parties, alliances, movements, forums, and professional-creative unions (in mid-February their number for the entire country was more than 53); the massive wave of strikes that has engulfed cities and villages, enterprises, offices, and institutes (at a certain time within a period of 15-20 days, we had a record of more than 350 strikes); and the emergence of the so-called opposition press—SVOBODEN NAROD, published by the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party, DEMOKRATSIYA, published by the Union of Democratic forces, and NARODNO ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, published by the "Nikola Petkov" Bulgarian National Agrarian Union. Where things have gradually settled down where anything related to the first two of the above aspects is concerned, the issue of the mass media is much more delicate. While, on the one hand, no one has the right any longer to prohibit anyone from having his own press organ, on the other, the "newsprint stocks" have been almost totally exhausted after the "sacred reserve" of 800 tonnes of newsprint was allocated to the publishers of the aforementioned three publications at the beginning of the year.

Up to now, 17 requests for new publications have been submitted to the Council of Ministers, and the issue of allocating newsprint and finding printing facilities is yet to be resolved. This is how the picture looked by 20 January:

Main Office of the Mufti of Bulgarian Muslims—MYUSLEMANI [Muslims] newspaper, (24 issues per year, distribution—up to 25,000); The Democratic Party—ZNAME [Banner] newspaper, (daily, distribution—up to 20,000); Independent Podkrepa Labor Federation—SVOBODNO SLOVO [Free Speech] newspaper, (weekly, distribution—up to 100,000); The New Social-Democratic Party—a weekly with a distribution

of up to 70,000, (no name has been announced yet); "European Bulgaria" Christian-Democratic Action—MIR [Peace] newspaper, (24 issues per year, distribution—up to 20,000); "Ecoglasnost" Association—ECOGLASNOST newspaper, (weekly, distribution—up to 20,000); The Union of the Macedonian Cultural-Educational Associations in Bulgaria—a monthly newspaper with a distribution of up to 10,000); "Zveno" People's Alliance—IZGREV [Dawn] newspaper, (daily, distribution—up to 100,000); The Radical-Democratic Party—a weekly with a distribution of up to 10,000; The Democratic Union of Bulgarian Women—NIE-ZHENITE [We-Women] newspaper, (weekly, distribution—up to 40,000); The Trade Union of the Newspapers' workers—NEZAVISIMOST [Independence] newspaper, (weekly, distribution—up to 20,000); The Coordination Council of the Union of Democratic forces in Burgas—a city newspaper, (24 issues per year with an unspecified distribution); The Alternative Socialist Association (ASO), faction of the Bulgarian Communist Party—SVOBODA [Freedom] newspaper, (weekly, distribution—up to 50,000); The Republican Party—REPUBLIKA [Republic] newspaper, (260 issues per year, distribution—50,000); and The Committee on Defense of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience, and Spiritual Values—a weekly with a distribution of up to 100,000.

The issue of the Green Party organ—a weekly with a distribution of 25,000—has been settled. A curious request has been submitted from Plovdiv, and it merits special attention. The Coordination Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party in Plovdiv Oblast and the Oblast People's Council propose to create a regional weekly of the Union of Democratic Forces, with a distribution of about 25,000. The OTECHESTVEN GLAS Editorial Board has joined the appeal of its publishers and has decided to help its competitors with 120,000 leva, which will be taken from its own state subsidies, and with newsprint for about 5,000 issues, thus cutting its own distribution.

Who knows, perhaps this gesture could still be assessed as "an act intended for official use," however, this does not resolve the issue of the future independent mass media, which could become the epicenter of new social tension that could produce unexpected consequences. The fleeting hints that have been dropped up to now, namely, that it is impossible to conduct an equal election campaign from unequal positions (most often citing the distribution of RABOTNICHESKO DELO and DEMOKRATSIYA) are gradually "firming" their character and assuming the nature of categorical ultimatums.

What possibility does the government have of resolving this issue? I do not mean to imply any unwillingness on the part of the new cabinet, because willingness obviously exists. However, there simply is no newsprint. The expectations that imports from the USSR will be maintained at the 1989 level of 34,000 tonnes—were not justified. Our representatives returned from their talks in Moscow with a half-empty basket. Only the import of newsprint for the first six months of the year has been guaranteed so far. Not only the independent publications, but also the so-called "official" newspapers and magazines have been placed under a question mark.

However, this is not the end of the paper troubles. It is expected that the import of USSR cellulose will be reduced (or that the price will increase, which for us means the same thing), and this places a question mark over the production of Bulgarian paper. There is no foreign currency for the import of luxury paper, inks, films, and spare parts for printing equipment, and there are not enough typesetters and printing equipment for the new publications.

The solution? Many of the specialists see the solution in seeking and finding sponsors who have sufficient finances and could begin direct negotiations with (even) Western companies that produce paper and other printing materials. Thus the state will be relieved of its monopoly on deciding publication and distribution policy. However, what we need today more than anything else is more patience with each other. Not reconciliation to the situation that exists, but patience based on mutual understanding. We have talked with each other enough from the position of force, or on the basis of the highest right of authority. As we have been able to see for ourselves—we have not gained anything from this until now.

Editorial note: A short while before closing this issue we learned that the distribution of DEMOKRATSIYA, SVOBODEN NAROD, and NARODNO ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME will increase 50 percent. The principles of market economy will fully apply to the other future competitors.

Savings Bank Deputy Chief Reports on Deposits

AU1003193990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Mar 90 p 3

[Article by State Savings Bank Deputy Chairman Ivan Kechidzhiev: "Savings: Are There Any Millionaires or Not?"]

[Excerpts] On 1 January 1990, the total amount of all deposits held by the population was 19,075.9 million leva.

Deposits (not including deposits for housing) totalled 16,222.7 million leva, and were distributed as follows according to groups of deposit accounts.

Groups according to size of accounts	Shares:		Balances:	
	Number	Percentage	Value, leva	Percentage
1 to 100 leva	3,069,277	28.9	179,974,115	1.1
101 to 500 leva	2,260,616	21.3	663,555,261	4.1

Groups according to size of accounts	Shares:		Balances:	
	Number	Percentage	Value, leva	Percentage
501 to 1,000 leva	1,383,461	13.0	1,028,807,644	6.4
1,001 to 2,000 leva	1,485,886	14.0	2,121,525,798	13.1
2,001 to 4,000 leva	1,278,930	12.1	3,558,419,341	22.0
4,001 to 10,000 leva	908,108	8.6	5,458,429,487	33.7
10,000 to 20,000 leva	197,670	1.9	2,484,717,182	15.4
20,000 to 40,000 leva	23,588	0.2	617,988,097	3.8
Over 40,000 leva	1,280	0.01	66,929,434	0.4
	Total: 10,633,036 valued at 16,222,718,000 leva.			

It can be seen from the above figures that 50.2 percent of the deposits are less than 500 leva. These accounts contain only 5.2 percent of the total savings. [passage omitted]

The group of deposits up to 2,000 leva includes 77.2 percent of the shares and 24.7 percent of the total deposits, whereas the group of deposits above 2,000 leva includes 22.8 percent of the shares and 75.3 percent of the total deposits.

The group of deposits over 40,000 leva contains only 1,280 shares, of 0.01 percent of the total number of shares, while the amount of the savings, 66,929,000 thousand leva, comprises 0.4 percent of the total savings deposits. The average balance in these deposit accounts is about 52,300 leva. [passage omitted]

Daily Reports on 'Economic Crimes' in 1989

AU2802133590 Sofia BTA in English 1308 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 28 (BTA)—1,286 economic crimes amounting to 18,226,809 leva's worth were uncovered in Bulgaria in 1989, announces today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

The paper also reveals data about crimes uncovered in the last months. Thirteen Bulgarian citizens who were just released from prison in partnership with two citizens of Yugoslavia carried out illegal currency exchange amounting to one million leva; unemployed persons traded in gold and watches for 1,500,000 leva; a network of illegal trade and currency exchange was discovered in the country; officials took bribes to supply goods that were in shortage in the market.

From an interview a RABOTNICHESKO DELO representative held with the chief of the Economic Crimes Department of the People's Militia in Sofia it became clear that only half of the cases are under preliminary investigation. It seems that all our efforts were in vain, he said. There are five cases of illegal currency exchange and smuggling pending since 1986 amounting to millions of leva's worth, but their perpetrators are free and go unpunished, the chief of the department said.

Havel Discusses Elections, Europe's Future

PM2003121690 Paris LE MONDE in French 18-19 Mar 90 pp 1,3

[Interview with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel by Jacques Amalric and Sylvie Kauffmann in Prague—date not given]

[Text] [LE MONDE] Free parliamentary elections will be held in your country on 8 June; how does the situation look? How do you view the establishment of the different Czechoslovak political forces?

[Havel] This country has not experienced free elections or any political life for 40 years; although political figures existed, they could not come out into the open and the public did not know them. Several generations of Czechoslovaks have never seen democracy, or have only experienced it for 20 years, between the two wars.... It is true that a democratic awareness, which is admired by many foreigners, was formed over the centuries, but this awareness does not really know how to operate on a practical level in a normal democratic life.

I therefore tend to see these elections rather as a kind of preparation for real free elections: The first real free elections will take place in two years' time. We will then have a new constitution, a redefined state, representative bodies, some 600 laws will have been modified, political life will have been crystallized, new political figures will have emerged, and big political parties will have been formed; we will finally have passed the most difficult stage of the economic reform.

These elections will, of course, be relatively free, but their backdrop is the old Constitution, just partly modified; I see them rather as a rehearsal.

[LE MONDE] Will you be personally involved?

[Havel] I will not play a direct part in the 8 June elections: I will not be a candidate for any party for any deputy's mandate and I will very probably merely do my duty as a citizen by putting my voting slip in the ballot box. But I would like to take part in the elections in an indirect way; I think that I have the right to do so when I see posters proclaiming "Havel, guarantor of free elections;" I feel that the people have given me the responsibility of ensuring that the elections are free.

I will intervene before the elections on 8 June in an attempt to divert attention from purely partisan, individual, regional, or group interests—I would say secular interests—to the general interest, society's interest. Moreover, that is the aim of my present approach, notably of my travels abroad, and of the visits by the pope and the Dalai Lama to Prague...and of a million other things I do.

[LE MONDE] The latest opinion polls show a drop in support for Civic Forum and, at the same time, an increase in support for the Communist Party. What do you think of that?

[Havel] I do not think anything of it. At present we are all learning everything and the opinion poll institutes too are only beginning to learn their job. You are well aware that two opinion polls can produce completely contradictory results and, in such a changing political situation, an opinion poll carried out yesterday is no longer valid today. What I know is that if the Communists are triumphant in the elections, I will become a dissident again—and I think that there is little chance of my being imprisoned or executed....

[LE MONDE, interrupting] When you say that new political figures will have emerged in two years' time, does that mean that you will remain president until then?

[Havel] Unless I am mistaken, nobody has yet proposed that I run for president for the coming period. It is only after somebody has proposed it that I will be able to assess the many different aspects of this proposal and decide whether or not to accept it.

[LE MONDE] When you became president on 29 December you probably expected some resistance or even sabotage by the apparatus. How do you now assess these obstacles?

[Havel] There was less resistance than I expected. I was even surprised by the slowness and clumsiness of that resistance.

[LE MONDE] Since your arrival here in the castle, you have acted both as a pedagogue and a moralist. How do you think the population views that? Would they not sometimes prefer a little more action and a little less philosophy?

[Havel] Whatever problem I tackle, be it political or other, I always eventually face the problem of human morality. Indeed, once freedom was regained, this society lost its sense of life or at least was very shaken. It is in a kind of post-penitentiary state which I know well because I have been in prison four times. In prison, you develop in a very narrow space with well defined limits: It is in that space that you can move freely; that life has a meaning; the meaning is that there is a glimmer of light at the end of the tunnel, the light of freedom which you hope to regain. But suddenly you walk out of the prison door and find yourself in a space which seems to have no limits; suddenly you are seized with indecision, you lack confidence and aims, you vacillate in an unknown undelineated world and, deep down inside, you would like to go back to where there were walls and limits.

Moreover, this is the main argument of the Communists who say: "In our day, everybody knew where he was, whereas now nobody can find a direction...." Even if I were extremely Machiavellian, I could only move in the direction of life, because that is the essential thing. I do not think that that is the result of my moralistic or philosophical tendencies, it is simply the result of a political necessity.

[LE MONDE] Is it difficult to move from prison to power without bitterness or a spirit of revenge?

[Havel] I have no personal bitterness and I do not want revenge from anyone. I feel compassion for those who imprisoned me. I will add that prison is an excellent preparation for power; for instance, you learn never to be suprised.... I am not even surprised to be president! I would not be surprised if somebody opened the door now and shouted: "Havel, go back to your cell!" Every time I approach important political talks, before coming to grips with the subject, I advise my aides and interlocutors: "Do not be so serious, do not panic!" Experience of dissidence is very useful because you grow accustomed to seeing all kinds of stupid things written about you....

[LE MONDE] What is your view of the Czechoslovak federation? Should it be rethought to increase the powers of each of the two republics? Are you worried by the resurgence of Slovak nationalism?

[Havel] The coexistence of our two nations is a matter for those two nations, not just for me. I personally hope that we will continue to be a federation: In many spheres, I think that our two republics are inseparable, both would be much worse if each tried to follow its own path. While respecting the right to self-determination, we Czechs and Slovaks are fully aware of this reality. We will therefore continue to be a federation, but a true federation not a federalized totalitarian system.

We must take time to rethink these questions and not act too hastily under pressure. I think that a transitional period of around two years is necessary during which a new constitution will be drawn up. Some measures can be taken very quickly, but, in reality we will have to use this transitional period to draw up new relations, a new institutional system in Czechoslovak relations. I emphasize the need for this thinking because many of those who were the faithful servants of Prague's normalized centralism during recent years are now demanding urgent action in the Slovak affair.

[LE MONDE] During West German Von Weizsaecker's visit to Prague on Thursday 15 March, you referred to the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans following World War II, condemning it as an act of vengeance and totalitarianism. Do you think that such statements are favorably viewed by the Czechoslovaks?

[Havel] To the best of my knowledge, my statement did not cause an uprising....

[LE MONDE] Are you in favor of Germany being neutral or a NATO member?

[Havel] I do not think that the question should be limited to this alternative. That would amount to ruling out a third possibility, which strikes me as the most desirable, in the sense that Germany's unification will be a factor in Europe's reunification; Germany's inclusion in a security system will depend on the future European architecture. The transformation must be simultaneous. That is what I said to Mr. Bush, Mr. Gorbachev, Mr. von Wiezsaecker and Mr. Genscher.

President von Wiezsaecker said here that a neutral country is a country which separates two enemy camps; however, Germany does not want to be a buffer zone between two enemy blocs or a tennis umpire. The future European system must be based on the principle of multipolarity with small countries no longer having to fear big countries and big countries no longer being in a position of conflict or rivalry. It must be a system in which the Latvians and the Irish, as well as the Germans and French, will all feel equally safe.

[LE MONDE] President Mitterrand is talking of a European confederation that would include the Central European countries to various degrees. You have advocated a rapprochement between Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Do you think that these approaches are conflicting or complementary? How do you view the new European order? Will it include the USSR or not?

[Havel] These proposals not only complement each other but go in the same direction. Ultimately, we see the new Europe as President Mitterrand views it. However, we must envision intermediate stages that will enable us to attain this ideal. First, the states returning to Europe will have to coordinate their return; at the same time it would be desirable for the institutions that claim to be European but that were hitherto just West European to open up to those rejoining Europe. It would be a good thing for these steps to succeed each other in fairly rapid succession; other steps will be necessary and only then will we be able to achieve this objective of a European confederation, or a United States of Europe, or some other name that one may wish to give this new entity.

The Soviet Union is changing and this change is taking place at the same time as the transformation of European architecture. The Soviet Union is moving toward democracy and hence toward the democratization of each of its components; this can lead to a new Soviet confederation, a kind of commonwealth. Nothing prevents the European parts of this Soviet commonwealth, while maintaining preferential relations with Moscow, from establishing links with Europe, which would not prevent the Asian parts from establishing new relations in Asia. These are personal thoughts, the facts may not bear me out.... This does not depend on me! But I hope that it takes place peacefully.

[LE MONDE] Would you be prepared to recognize independent Baltic states?

[Havel] Any nation has the right to independence. That is enshrined in the international charters and even in the Soviet Constitution. We must now see by what legal and constitutional formulas those nations gain independence; the question of recognizing states and establishing diplomatic relations depends on that constitutional organization.

Havel Discusses Foreign, Domestic Issues

LD1903125990

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1320 GMT on 18 March carries the 27-minute "Conversation in Lany" program, featuring an interview with President Vaclav Havel by journalist (Ota Nut).

Havel expressed his pleasure that Czech and Slovak legislative bodies reached a consensus on the name of the republic and the state insignia and hopes that the Federal Assembly will approve both at its session at the end of March.

Asked about his forthcoming visit to France and Britain, he says that he is very much looking forward to both trips. He has already met with President Mitterrand during the latter's visit to Prague in 1988, when he and other dissidents were still persecuted, and he is looking forward to meeting him again. He is very much interested in meeting with Mrs. Thatcher, a very notable and original politician. He would like to expound in both countries on Czechoslovakia's notions and ideas about the future of Europe.

Asked about last week's visit to Czechoslovakia by West German President von Weizsaecker, he says that the visit was of historic significance, proof of which will become clear in the future rather than now. Asked about a future strong and economically advanced Germany, he says that if Luxembourg and Lichtenstein were not afraid of such a powerful country, why should Czechoslovakia be afraid. There is, however, a need to keep the country's economic ties in balance. The CSSR's orientation exclusively on Germany and Austria would not be prudent. It would be a good thing if such ties were kept in balance by relations with more distant countries, such as Canada, the United States, and Japan, for reasons which are more than obvious.

Asked about his meeting yesterday with Lech Walesa, he says that the communique on the meeting was drawn up not by officials but on the spot during a lively debate in which every word was discussed and those who read it carefully will find in it things that one would not find by reading it cursorily. He talked with Walesa for over two hours and they got to know each other well, which undoubtedly is important for both of them.

Asked about Charter 77, whose signatories are meeting in Prague today, he speaks at length on the influence on the movement and on him personally by the philosopher, Professor Patocka. He says that one must not forget the dissident origins of the civic movement. Dissidents do not have careerist ambitions. Indeed, their careers frequently terminate in a prison. Proceeding from the thought he expands on the conditions of Czech and Slovak society at present, comparing it to a return of a prisoner from jail to freedom, from a life of strict rules and discipline to a life of infinite options, from a life of enforced certainties to a life of what is seemingly chaos. With the collapse of rules and values, society suddenly does not know what to do with it. There is, or perhaps will be, a hankering to go back to a world of rules and certainties as many former prisoners do. This can be exploited by the friends of the old order.

Concluding, Havel says that people still are unable to take decisions on their own, always asking for instructions from the center. There are so many problems facing us and so many solutions offered that life seems from the viewpoint of many to be chaotic. But freedom is a challenge as well as an opportunity.

Mitterrand Optimistic About Bilateral Relations

LD1803234190 Prague CTK in English 1549 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Paris March 18 (CTK correspondent)—"My visit to Prague in December 1988 convinced me that Czechoslovakia, this traditionally democratic country, will not lag behind, that it will start to move forwards", French President Francois Mitterrand told CTK here on the eve of the official visit of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to Paris.

It was clear that the regime is suffering from sclerosis and will be unable to suffocate the desire for freedom for long, especially after Mr. Gorbachev in the Soviet Union and new leading representatives in the neighbouring countries signalized changes, the French president underlined.

What is very surprising is the evident ease with which several weeks of the "velvet revolution" ended the 41 years of absolute power and 21 years of "normalization". It is encouraging that the return to democracy is taking place without violence. This is often given by the clairvoyance and courage of those who similarly as Vaclav Havel called for democracy in the worst times, Mitterrand pointed out.

The tradition of French-Czechoslovak friendship is long. Tomas Garrigue Masaryk and Eduard Benes created the Czech National Council in Paris in 1916 and the French Government supported the establishment of the young state immediately after the First World War. It was at the same time a deceived friendship because it is hard to neglect the fate of Czechoslovakia in 1938, the French president said. (In 1938 a pact called the Munich Agreement was signed by which the Czechoslovak border areas were surrendered to Nazi Germany without Czech consent—Ed. note).

"I think that the time has come to strengthen again our bilateral relations. this has started in the political sphere and the state visit of President Havel, whom I met in Prague in 1988, will be a significant stage on this road. This is naturally happening also in the cultural sphere because the closeness is evident and the interest great... Nevertheless we have to lay a greater accent on the development of our economic relations which are still modest. Czechoslovakia disposes of an industrial basis

and experts of high quality. Let's encourage our enterprises to strive for more information about themselves in your country, to establish partner relations", he said.

"We naturally wish that Czechoslovakia strengthen its ties with the European communities. That it discuss again the agreement on trade and cooperation as its Hungarian and Polish neighbours have done recently, generally speaking. It is desirable to enable the Central and Eastern European countries to find themselves and to find us in the framework of a durable structure, of such a structure which I called the European confederation. This institution would make it possible to establish a dignified and durable dialogue between its equal members on themes which are to be chosen: I have suggested security exchanges but this does not mean any limitations. It is possible to think about joint projects, e.g. technological and audiovisual cooperation Eureka, education of students (Erasmus), European Agency for the Environment, European transport and telecommunications network or exchanges of young people", French President Francois Mitterrand told CTK.

Havel Interview Previews France, UK Visits

LD1903153990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1415 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] As we have announced in our previous bulletins, Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, has left today on a state visit to France and Great Britain. Before his special aircraft took off from the Ruzyne airport about an hour ago President Havel answered one more question put to him by Jiri Vejvoda:

[Begin recording] [Vejvoda] Mr President, Europe is apparently going to look differently than has been evisaged, even before 1992, in connection with a strong Germany and other changes, which you yourself as well as Czechoslovakia have been helping to promote. What, in your view will, be the position of France and Britain, our prewar allies, and what will our attitude be toward them?

[Havel] I believe that our relations with both Britain and France should be as equally friendly as with Germany. I believe that we ought to have balanced relations with all European states and this is one of the main topics that we want naturally to discuss both in Britain and France, as well as our notions about the European unification process and the role of various states in it. There exists a kind of a certain traditional tension with Britain, which is a bit farther from continental Europe, and a tension between France and Germany, which, despite its historical roots, is not as bad today as when these countries used to fight each other. Nonetheless, such a latent tension still exists in a certain form, and we naturally believe that the future Europe should not feature either competition or domination of individual states over others. This should be a community of all, as I have said on numerous occasions, in which a small country would not need to be afraid of the larger ones and the larger ones would not need to compete against each other.

[Vejvoda] Do you have any personal attitude toward these two countries? In the United States you experienced at least briefly that certain atmosphere of the cultural ferment at the end of the sixties. Have you as a writer and human being inscribed France and Britain somewhat in your memory?

[Havel] I feel somewhat bound up with those two countries, although I have to admit that I did not spend a long time in them. I spent about 10 days in both countries, both in London and Paris, and in France in general, in 1968, which was the period when I possessed a passport.

[Vejvoda] A brief time indeed. Have a safe journey.

[Havel] Thank you. [end recording]

Havel Travels to France for Bilateral Talks

Greeted by Mitterrand

LD1903234390 Prague CTK in English 1850 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Paris March 19 (CTK correspondent)—Prior to his arrival in the French capital today, President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia told newsman aboard the plane that discussion of bilateral issues and mutual clarification of ideas of an all-European arrangement were the main goals of his visit.

President Havel was warmly greeted at Orly Airport by President Francois Mitterrand, an unusual honour as the French president does not personally welcome foreign guests at the airport. President Mitterrand greeted Vaclav Havel as a representative of a country which is linked with France by memories and hopes. He said he was convinced that France as a country with rich resources and possibilities can help in the reconstruction of Czechoslovakia. "Your visit means a beginning of a new epoch in mutual relations," President Mitterrand stressed, and added that France wished for closest possible cooperation in this epoch.

President Vaclav Havel said he was happy to arrive in France, a country which stood at the birth of the Czechoslovak state. He said he looked forward to the talks, stating that "the fast tide of history will not allow us to deal only with bilateral questions but we shall have to talk also about many broader matters. I do not doubt that we shall understand one another".

Leaders Discuss Reforms

LD1903235190 Prague CTK in English 2140 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Paris March 19 (CTK correspondent)—At the talks between Czeechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and French President Francois Mitterrand tonight, President Mitterrand characterized Czechoslovakia's effort to return to Europe as one of the most important tasks.

Vaclav Havel pointed out the related ideas of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy and President Mitterrand's concept of a European confederation. He spoke of the special position of Czechoslovakia which is relatively ahead compared with the other East European countries as regards political reforms but lags behind in carrying out economic reforms. In this context he said he wished that France supported Czechoslovakia's return to Europe, particularly in the economic sphere.

President Mitterrand states that the political and economic aspects of reforms are inseparable, adding that several communist regimes failed because they ignored this principle.

A spokesman for the French president told newsmen that the two presidents engaged in a "very serious and accurate exchange of views" on questions concerning the organization of a new Europe and patterns of political and economic cooperation.

On the issue of Germany's unification the two statesmen said unification cannot be questioned if it takes place in a democratic and peaceful way. They were agreed on the issue of the borders of future Germany with Poland.

President Havel presented to President Mitterrand the Order of the White Lion 1st class with a gold chain while the French president handed his Czechoslovak partner the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour.

Analyzes Pact Membership

LD2003032490 Prague CTK in English 2225 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Paris March 19 (CTK correspondent)—In an interview for the French TF1 Television Network, President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia said today that it is important for Czechoslovakia, just as for other European countries, that the unification of Germany should take place in peace and in the context of European unification so that this process should be its motor and not a hindrance.

He said he and President Mitterrand understood each other well on the issue of uniting Europe. Czechoslovakia proposed to specify the schedule of changes in Europe, the basis of the idea of a confederation. Vaclav Havel said his talks with the French president on this issue had been "very important and very concrete".

Replying to the question why Czechoslovakia remains a Warsaw Pact member, President Havel stated that in a new European security system the existing pacts will become outdated and will change, each in a different way, since NATO and the Warsaw Treaty are not symmetrical. "If we want these changes to occur quickly, we have to be inside the Warsaw Treaty in order to accelerate this process. If we left it we would lose all our influence on it," President Havel said.

Leaders Exchange Toasts

LD2003102190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] President Vaclav Havel began a state visit to France on 19 March. During his talks in Elysee Palace with French President Francois Mitterrand, he voiced the desire that France support, especially in the economic field, our country's return to Europe.

Afterward Vaclav Havel visited the editorial office of the journal SVEDECTVI, to which he was a contributor in the past. He thanked Pavel Tigrid, the head of the journal's editorial office, which has been in existence in exile since 1956.

Last night Francois Mitterand gave a gala dinner in Vaclav Havel's honor, at which both statemen delivered speeches. President Mitterrand recalled his last visit to Prague in December 1988, and pointed to the revolutionary changes that have occured in Europe since then. In particular he praised the revolutionary changes that have taken place in Czechoslovakia and Vaclav Havel's role in the movement. The fact that Vaclav Havel had been elected president was logical, Mitterrand declared, because the Czechoslovak people had know that in his hands politics will serve truth, morality, and justice.

In his toast, Vaclav Havel said that President Mitterrand's visit to Prague in 1988 had become one of the links in the chain reaction which led to the Czechoslovak revolution. He then spoke about key points in history that link both countries, and about the traditional cultural relations between the two states. Vaclav Havel voiced the hope that these traditions will continue and that both countries would establish genuine friendly relations.

Further Reportage on Visit

WA2003090090

For reportage on the visit by President Vaclav Havel to France, including reports on his talks with French leaders and compatriots who have settled in France, please see the France section of the 20 March West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Csemadok Chairman Discusses Minority Issues

LD1503192890 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] The letter from Republic of Hungary interim President Matyas Szuros to President Vaclav Havel has aroused an unfavorable response among the Slovak public. We are going back to this in the conversation with today's radio journal guest. He is Zoltan Sido, chairman of Csemadok, the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia. During an interval in Federal Assembly deliberations on 14 March he was contacted by correspondent (Bohuslav Goetzi).

[Begin recording] [Goetzi] The letter from the acting president of the Republic of Hungary addressed to our President Vaclav Havel was recently published in the press. It demanded, in quite a threatening manner one could say, that the rights of the Hungarian minority be guaranteed in Czechoslovakia.

[Sido] We did not know about this letter or this endeavor. We only found out about this letter from our daily press. In this case, I think that the citizens of Hungarian nationality in Czechoslovakia have had and continue to have specific conditions, which, of course, also contain some problems. But the citizens of Czech or Slovak nationality also have problems. What we want is to solve these problems in terms of the valid constitution, in terms of Czechoslovak laws so that these laws and the new constitution will not contradict the Helsinki agreement or the follow-up meetings.

At the last session I asked the Federal Assembly Presidium to create a commission, which would investigate which circles and which persons stand in the background in organizing various actions, which, I think, are not completely in keeping with our constitution or with the aforementioned agreements. Unfortunately, I was not informed by the Federal Assembly about establishing this parliamentary commission.

[Goetzi] I was slightly taken aback by one thing. At issue is the question of using Hungarian as an official language. I have a feeling that the demand that only Hungarian-speaking doctors and judges should work in southern districts does not fully correspond with our idea of solving the question of nationalities.

[Sido] In this respect, nobody should demand that people be distinguished according to ability to speak a particular language. The point at issue here is that if, for example, a citizen addresses a court or a prosecutor's office in his mother tongue, he is dealt with as if he addressed the aforementioned establishments in another language.

For instance, the Federal Assembly's rules of procedure give an opportunity to all deputies who are not of Czech or Slovak nationality to deliver speeches in their mother tongue, though in fact they master the Czech or Slovak language and they can readily deliver speeches in these languages. For instance, all my education was in Hungarian and so far I have never felt that I have a language problem; also, we two can speak without an interpreter.

[Goetzi] Fewer and fewer people did not have an opportunity to learn Slovak. Does it not really give an impression that the Sloval language is being neglected in schools where the teaching medium is Hungarian?

[Sido] We can say that it is neglected. While in 1963 over 100 teachers for Hungarian schools graduated from the faculty of pedagogy in Nitra, in the course of the last few years there were about 25 to 30 of them graduating. This means that by the year 2000 there will be a shortage of over 2,000 teachers, even without taking into account any changes in the network of schools with Hungarian as the teaching medium. This is a big number. I think that it will be a task of the Ministry of Education and also of the constitutional and legislative body to study these issues without emotions and assess them with precision according to the real situation. And there is a need to improve this situation, improve the quality of teaching Slovak language at schools where Hungarian is the teaching medium, improve its method, and improve education of future teachers of Slovak language for this type of schools. I am convinced that these are tasks that we could easily tackle without spending too much money. [end recording]

[Announcer] Of course, but only if the pupils are willing to learn. The guest of today's radio journal was Zoltan Sido, chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia.

Czechs Suggested as Hungary-Slovakia Mediator

LD1603234890 Prague CTK in English 1955 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 16 (CTK)—Czech Premier Petr Pithart spoke at a press conference here today about results of his recent visits to Hungary and about a draft state budget of the Czech Republic.

Commenting on his visit to Hungary he said that Hungary as well as Czechoslovakia have indicated the possibilty that the Czech Republic could be a mediator in case of an unfavourable development of ties between Hungary and Slovakia concerning the issue of the Hungarian minority.

He informed journalists of his visit to the western part of Hungary with which the Czech Republic would like to develop relations, as with a partner region, and stated that the Czech Government will also strive to establish relations with regions in other European countries. He pointed out Hungary's valuable experience with economic reform.

Speaking about his visit to southern Bohemia and problems in the area, the Czech premier announced that a Sumava National Park would be established in a year time at the latest.

Opinion Poll Identifies Voting Preferences

AU1603174390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Mar 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Who Would Be Elected Today"]

[Text] Prague—From 27 February to 7 March the Institute for Public Opinion Research conducted a survey of opinions on preparations for the elections and on support for individual political parties among a representative cross section of 704 Czechoslovak citizens (482 from the Czech Republic and 222 from the Slovak Republic).

As far as the new electoral law is concerned, 20 percent of respondents think it has been prepared in a completely democratic manner; 51 percent think its preparation is only partly democratic; and four percent think it has been prepared in an absolutely undemocratic manner. It is interesting that one in every four citizens did not know how to evaluate this question. In reply to a question on whether the new electoral law corresponds to our citizens' perception of democratic elections, 56 percent of the respondents answered positively and 16 percent answered negatively. The remainder were unable to respond because they did not know about the new electoral law. Sixty percent of respondents have decided to vote.

Those citizens who will have the right to vote in the elections to the Federal Assembly were asked which party or movement they would vote for if the elections were to be held next week. Twenty-three percent would vote for the Civic Forum or for the Public Against Violence movement; 13 percent would vote for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]; and 11 percent would vote for the Green Party. Six percent would vote for the Christian Democratic Movement (17 percent in Slovakia), for the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and for the Czechoslovak People's Party. Five percent would vote for Czechoslovak Social Democracy. Four percent would vote for the Democratic Party and two percent would vote for the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 15 March on page 7 carries the above item in an almost identical form with the exception that it adds: Respondents place most trust in the Green Party (73 percent), followed by the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence movement (69 percent), the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party (52 percent), Czechoslovak Social Democracy (46 percent), the Czechoslovak Socialist Party (42 percent), the Czechoslovak People's Party (40 percent), and the CPCZ (21 percent)].

Socialist Party Preparing Election Program

LD1803061190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] The 24th Congress of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party continued in Prague today with a discussion about a draft party program for free elections.

Professor Dr. Vladimir Krajina, Czechoslovak Socialist Party honorary chairman, greeted the delegates. He expressed his appreciation to party members for their devoted work which has contributed to a considerable degree toward the return to democratic conditions in our society's development. He stressed that party members living abroad will support this development in the future too.

The discussion on the draft election program and new statutes reflected the efforts of all the members of the Socialist Party to begin active involvement in an election fight and lead their party towards success in the elections.

40 Percent View Feb 1948 as Communist Putsch

AU1903090690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Mar 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Opinion of Citizens on February 1948"]

[Text] Prague— The Institute for Public Opinion Research conducted an opinion poll in the period of 27 February to 7 March on how citizens feel about one of the Czechoslovak historical milestones—February 1948.

Forty-five percent of Czechoslovak citizens consider February 1948 to have been a revolutionary coup which arose from the will of the majority of the nation but was misused and finished badly. The results in the Czech and Slovak Republics are principally identical.

Forty percent consider it to have been a putsch caried out by the will of the highest functionaries of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the then Soviet leadership. This opinion was encountered less frequently in Slovakia than in the Czech lands (Slovak Republic—35 percent; Czech Republic—43 percent).

Mohorita: Organize Commission on Party Finances

AU1903211790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Mar 90 p 2

[Excerpts from a statement by Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, at the 14 March joint meeting of Federal Assembly chambers: "Ultimatums Do Not Contribute to Understanding"]

[Text] Deputy Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, was among those who took the floor during the open discussion at the Federal Assembly session 14 March. We present here the part of his contribution pertaining to the property of the CPCZ.

[Mohorita] The debate on the expropriation of the property of the CPCZ and various proposals connected therewith stem from the fact that the party which has been in the leading position is responsible for all blunders and all the errors made in the past. That means the party as a whole. This conception then actually expresses the thesis of collective guilt of all members of the CPCZ who, in addition to other penitence, should pay for it with the party's property. In this context, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that over 70 percent of the membership joined the CPCZ after 1972. Hence, they are people who took part neither in the post-February blunders nor in the normalization processes after 1968. Except for a small group who profited from their CPCZ membership, the only gain of the vast majority of our members was additional duties, to say

nothing of those who were, after their separation from the party, affected in their livelihood.

Here, I would like to mention that the CPCZ is an existing legally registered party, and nothing was found to prevent its registration. Therefore, we are an entirely legal political party which takes an active part in the process of social changes and, although not the ruling one, we are a government party, i.e., a party which had a share in the formation of the government of national understanding.

In this respect, according to my opinion, the attempts to expropriate its property mean, in the final analysis, a restriction of its rights and therefore the questioning of its legality. This, in turn, brings in doubt the entire democratization process here because, taken to the extreme—and we hear such opinions too—the increasing volume of these demands necessarily leads to the question of whether our political partners do not simply wish to dispose of a strong political opponent. I would like to add the information that I will discuss the problem of financing the CPCZ with Mr. Minister Klaus on Friday.

According to my opinion, shared by numerous members of our party, we will have to do some serious thinking in the party regarding further use of this property, depending upon its state since some value has been diminished by the sharp decrease in income. This should include considerations of how to use this property to compensate in some ways for what our predecessors destroyed, whereby they unfairly harmed many people. Neither I nor the Central Committee can, however, make a decision in this respect. That is an affair to be dealt with by a congress because party property is the property of all its members. I believe that we will find a way of utilizing our means for public purposes.

Now, however, no ultimatums can be accepted. Giving ultimatums is an attempt at confrontation. It nourishes and aids forces unfavorable to the idea of national understanding, forces which disregard the need for a peaceful development in our country.

The CPCZ truly wishes to settle the question of proprietary relationship with the state. Therefore, I propose that the meeting resolve the formation of an independent Federal Assembly commission which would evaluate and analyze the financial relationship between the budgets of the Czechoslovak federation, the republics, and the political parties.

I recommend that the following tasks be set for this commission:

1. Assess the grants provided for political parties from the Czechoslovak federation's budget and from the budgets of the national governments, both for capital expenditures as well as operating costs.
2. Assess the transfer of real estate from the CPCZ property to the property of the Czechoslovak state.

I believe that the fulfillment of these tasks will elucidate the situation as well as remove the reasons for the present incessant attacks against the CPCZ.

Czech Council Debates Emblems, CPCZ Property

AU1903091190 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 14 Mar 90 p 1

["(DZ)"-signed report: "Not Only the Czech Republic's State Emblems Were Discussed at the Czech National Council"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Czech National Council [CNR] deputies also discussed and approved four other laws yesterday. The largest debate was provoked by the draft law on using the Czech Republic's state emblem and state flag. The stipulation which stated that individual citizens may use the small state emblem during festive occasions was considered to be restrictive. A different proposal was put forward which would allow citizens to use the large and small emblems whenever they wanted. The meeting was interrupted and, as a result of bargaining, it was agreed that it should be possible to use the large and small state emblems in a suitable and dignified manner (as is the case with the state flag). Some deputies pointed out that "in a suitable and dignified manner" is a vague formula which may be abused. They gave examples from the past—for example, while wearing a tricolor. Their objection was rejected. On the contrary, it was agreed that the Czech Republic's large state emblem, among other things, will be used on all Czech Republic borders and not only on the border between the Czech and Slovak Republics.

The deputies also approved a law on a deputy's oath to the CNR and to a national committee and another oath for members of the Czech Republic Government. From the other adopted laws it ensues that the number of deputies will continue to be 200 and the term of office for CNR deputies elected in June will be 24 months.

In a general debate, which followed after the CNR meeting's legislative program ended, many deputies referred to the property which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] has acquired unjustifiably and to its responsibility for the numerous distortions that have taken place in our country. One of the deputies, P. Lom (without party affiliation), among other things, stated that the 17th CPCZ organization in Prague 3 "is piling heaps of dirt" on President Havel. I. Palkoska (without party affiliation) suggested that the CNR Presidium, in collaboration with representatives of the CSSR Federal Assembly, considers the possibility of setting up a commission to investigate the means by which the CPCZ acquired its property and to look into the possibility of a property settlement between the CPCZ and the state. Of the more than 170 deputies present, 32 voted against the suggestion and 39 abstained. The others decided to adopt the suggestion. This became part of the final resolution.

Minister Suggests CPSL Asset Nationalization

LD1603195990 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1250 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Speech by Slovak Finance Minister Michal Kovak at Slovak National Council session in Bratislava on 16 March—live]

[Text] Esteemed deputies, I would like to react to the question concerning the property of the Slovak Communist Party [CPSL]. It might appear from the question posed by Deputy Palca that the Slovak government has done nothing in this regard and this is why I would like to take this opportunity to give you certain information including the current state of affairs in this matter. At the same time I would like to say that both the Czech and the federal governments have done less than half of what the Slovak government has done.

The Slovak government at the end of this January carried out a survey throughout Slovakia of the property owned by the CPSL on the entire territory of the Slovak Republic. On the basis of this survey we found that a total of 98 buildings used by the Communist Party are situated on the territory of the Slovak Republic. Of this number, 62 buildings are registered in ownership of the Czechoslovak state, 17 buildings are registered in the ownership of the Communist Party, and in the case of 19 buildings no property title could be established properly.

On the basis of this information I asked the federal minister of finance to give us more detailed information about how certain buildings to which no property title could be properly established were financed. This is because such financing is done through the federal budget and no details were therefore known at the Slovak Finance Ministry, and I shall give you the result later.

At the same time we asked all regional national committees and through them district national committees via their financial departments to end contracts on the use of the relevant building by the CPSL and to enable the appropriate commissions set up for this purpose to decide how these buildings should be used in the future taking into regard the new demands of the CPSL. The government later carried out a survey of how individual national committees carried out this task and found that the contracts about their use had not been ended everywhere and this is why the government asked the national committees once again to carry out this instruction issued by the finance minister. Soon we shall have in possession such information and I shall therefore be able to brief you on the subject at the next session of the Slovak National Council.

Regarding the Communist Party property up to 1972, everything the Communist Party owned was by an agreement reached between the federal government and the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee handed to state ownership. This means that the dispute existed only in regard to the financing of buildings and construction projects from 1972 up to 1989. According to information from the federal ministry of finance we found that during that period, that is from 1972 up to the end of 1989, buildings and other facilities amounting to the total of 1.714 billion korunas at the disposal of the CPSL, had either been completed fully or partially in Slovakia. Of that sum of 1.714 billion korunas, the contribution made by the Communist Party from its own funds was 863 million korunas while the balance of more than 1 billion korunas [as heard] came mostly from state funds while a small proportion came from combine funds because some of these buildings also house insurance offices, savings banks, and other public organizations. Thus, we are in possession of a complete survey.

It is now not merely up to the Slovak government alone, for it depends also on the initiative of the Slovak National Council deputies to make certain proposals since the Communist Party's share in the existing property, although different in regard to the number of buildings, is 863 million korunas. In other words, we can say that the value of the Communist Party property, if we do not take into account depreciation but only the budget costs of obtaining such property, is 863 korunas million. Other parties have nothing in their ownership. In other words, the Communist Party alone is a property owner as far as political parties are concerned.

There are, speaking theoretically, two ways of making up for the advantage enjoyed currently by the Communist Party and reducing the handicap suffered by other political parties and bringing them to the same starting line, especially in connection with the coming elections. Theoretically this means giving 863 million korunas to all other parties to obtain property. At the same time, this will only amount to a kind of mathematical levelling of one party with the other 10, and if we thought that each of them should have 863 million korunas one does not have to be a mathematical genuis to know what this would mean. This road therefore is apparently not feasable.

The government has attempted in connection with the election campaign to bring about a partial levelling of the starting line to enable other parties to enter the elections, if not from an equal material and technical base then at least from the same level organizationally, by enabling them to obtain space, office equipment, and the like and, as you know from the press, the Communist Party and other smaller parties criticized this proposal a great deal, which constituted really a moderate and slight equalization of the advantage the Communist Party is currently enjoying in entering elections.

Therefore, an alternative is to nationalize the residue of this property. Thus, this is not merely a matter for the Slovak government, for it should be tackled uniformly throughout the CSSR. Thank you for your attention.

Prague Civic Forum Assembly Amends Statutes

LD1803124290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] The highest organ of Civic Forum, the assembly, met in Prague today. It approved some fundamental changes to the statutes. For example, membership of Civic Forum is defined as follows: Its members can be all those who agree with the program principles, if they are not members of a political party or are members of those democratically oriented political parties or movements which are participating in the elections within the framework of Civic Forum.

A completely new point appears in the statutes on the activity of local civic forums which act in conflict with the statutes and the principles of this movement. The relevant district assembly can undertake the new election of representatives of such a forum or declare the said Civic Forum to be illegitimate.

Schubert Administering Trade Union Property

LD1503132290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] The Property, Administration, and Delimitation Union of Individual Trade Unions [Majetkova, Spravni, a Delimitacni Unie Odborovych Svazu] has become the legal successor to the revolutionary trade unions. Roman Zamboch has interviewed Dr. Borivoj Schubert, its executive secretary:

[Begin recording] [Schubert] Let us review why the union has been established. The Property, Administration, and Delimitation Union of Individual Trade Unions was set up to administer the property which so far has been administered by trade union organs at all levels of management of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement- - that is, from the Central Council of Trade Unions down to district trade union councils. Naturally, this property will have to be prepared so that it can be distributed to the successor trade unions. It will also be necessary to consider which parts of this property can be purposefully associated—that is, the property should not be divided, but be continually administered and used.

[Zamboch] Are you also preparing the Solidarity Fund?

[Schubert] Yes, the Solidarity Fund is currently blocked, that is, it is not presumed that it could be used for the purpose for which it was created. On the contrary, we are at the moment considering the question of dividing some of the Solidarity Fund's money for the newly created trade unions—it should, in fact, be the first part of the trade union property to be delimited to the successor trade unions.

[Zamboch] I know that you also look after the emergent apparatus of the Confederation of Czechoslovak Trade Unions. How do they differ from the former apparatus of the Central Council of Trade Unions?

[Schubert] The problem is that we have inherited the apparatus of the Central Council of Trade Unions, as well as other trade union organs. We have to say goodbye to the majority of the employees so that those who have proved themselves, who have good qualifications, can remain. They should be supplemented by employees who have proved themselves in the political movement of the past weeks on the territory of the individual trade unions and strike committees, that means we will create this apparatus in the course of the entire year.

The greatest problem refers to the apparatus of the former district and regional trade unions which were abolished—there is no successor organ there. We are considering a situation where consultation centers will remain in districts—they will be aimed at labor, social, and other legal counselling, perhaps economic and financial counselling, primary organizations, and members of trade unions. [end recording]

Sacher's Adviser Accused of Destroying Documents

AU1903092090 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

[Jan Subert report: "The Ministry of Interior Was Deceiving the Prosecutor's Office"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday's [12 March] session of the parliamentary commission which oversees the investigations of 17 November events brought up, after a relatively long time, new and interesting facts again. Important testimony was given by a colonel of the former State Security. We have acquired more information on the Stepan-General Carda case. Important information was provided by Engineer J. Stank, deputy chairman of parliament and chairman of the commission, and by representatives of the Independent Investigating Commission.

The information provided by Colonel Macenauer, a high-ranking official of the former State Security, can be considered as being of exceptional importance. According to the chairman of the commission, the said colonel provided important information on the attitude of the former leadership of the Federal Ministry of Interior to the investigation of the police intervention on 17 November. It follows from this information that even two months after this date—i.e., during January 1990—high-ranking officials of the Ministry of Interior attempted to deceive the Prosecutor's Office and were misleading the investigation.

Commission Chairman Engineer Stank pointed out the obvious disproportion between the 25 members of the National Security Corps against whom legal charges have been brought and the 590 persons who were injured during the police intervention. He said that the new leadership of the Ministry of Interior will be requested to conduct an investigation within its department and to reveal more persons who bear their share of guilt. He also stressed the need for more initiative on the part of the Prosecutor's Office.

The representatives of the Independent Investigating Commission called attention to the significant shortage of written evidence around the entire investigation. In this connection they accused General Lorenc, former deputy minister of the interior and today's consultant to Minister of Interior Sacher, of being one of the men who gave orders to destroy papers and to subsequently shred documents of the Federal Ministry of Interior. [passage omitted]

Engineer Stank informed the journalists also about the journey of a commission member to Moscow in order to hear a general of the Soviet Ministry of Interior, who was in Prague in the period around 17 November. The Soviet general worked as adviser at our Ministry of Interior and on 17 November he was present among the staff directing the intervention. His meeting with the representative of the commission took place at our embassy. The Soviet general stressed that he did not, in any way, intervene in the operation, that he was watching what was happening, and that he later left the staff. [passage omitted]

Leopoldov Prisoners Continue Hunger Strike

AU1603140990 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 13 Mar 90 p 2

[Interview with Slovak Republic Justice Minister Ladislav Kosta by Hana Kardosova; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Kardosova] Last week, prisoners in Leopoldov announced that they were going on hunger strike. What is the situation there now?

[Kosta] Yesterday, 1,100 prisoners were still refusing to work; of these, 300 were continuing their hunger strike and 300 had barricaded themselves in. Last week Federal Interior Minister Richard Sacher conveyed a letter to them from President Havel in which he appeals to them to be patient. Their fundamental demand, the annulment of paragraph 41 of the Penal Code, is already on the agenda for amending the Penal Code. However, it is not possible to do things as quickly as these prisoners imagine.

Israel Ready To Discuss Diplomatic Links

LD2003101490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0911 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Jerusalem (ADN)—The Israeli Government is ready to continue negotiations with the GDR on the resumption of diplomatic relations. Michael Shiloh, adviser to the Israeli foreign minister, told ADN in Jerusalem that the continuation of talks now depended on the GDR Government, which is to be formed. The former Israeli ambassador to Bonn headed his country's delegation in the first two rounds of negotiations in Copenhagen between representatives of the two countries.

Gorbachev's Election as President Viewed

AU2003141790 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 16 Mar 90 p 2

[Michael Albrecht commentary: "Gorbachev at the Zenith of Power"]

[Text] The Olympus, the summit of victory, has been scaled. Today Mikhail Gorbachev is the most powerful man of the Soviet Union, and with his election as the first president of the gigantic country, he has reached the zenith of his political work so far. His election by the overwhelming majority of the delegates of the People's Deputies' Congress is not only the greatest triumph of the 59-year-old thoroughbred politician from the northern Caucasus, but also means a historic break for the union state. Because for the first time in the history of the Soviet Union a man is at its top who is able to credibly link his political charisma with personal integrity and prudent, far-sighted actions. Now, since the inaugurated president has an unprecedented amount of power he must bring the wobbling ship of state on its course with even more intensity than before.

In a programmatic speech, which Gorbachev held immediately after his inauguration, the president came out in favor of accelerating the initiated social and economic reforms and also admitted mistakes, obstacles, and setbacks in his policy of perestroyka. However, these must not lead to changing the course of restructuring but, on the contrary, to accelerating its implementation. Here he plans to use his powers as president most comprehensively.

As the organizer and coordinator in extreme situations—in wars, conflicts, natural disasters, and serious disturbances of social peace and societal order—Gorbachev sees his first domestic task in reducing the economic and social tensions in the country, which have gained dramatic scope in many fields. Acting as a link between the legislative power (the USSR Supreme Soviet) and the executive power (government), the president may now direct via decrees the government, the ministries, and the USSR state committees in line with Soviet laws, which includes, among other things, the appointment of ministers.

The fact that, in addition, he may appoint a presidential council, which has to work out measures to implement the USSR domestic and foreign policy and to ensure national security, made some people's deputies harshly criticize candidate Mikhail Gorbachev before the vote. Deputies of an interregional group called the election of the president by the congress (future elections will be held in direct ballot by the people under the conditions of a real multiparty system) a "severe and serious mistake." They even spoke of "Gorbachev's striving for absolute personal power." However, the clear result of the secret ballot at the Congress of People's Deputies shows that such fears were not shared by the majority of the deputies. In addition, the power of the Congress of People's Deputies' to rescind the president's decrees has put an effective stop to all-too-independent actions. No, the corresponding change in the Constitution to establish a presidential system has established an important basis for a pluralistic society in the Soviet Union; fears are uncalled for.

The congress' other decision, namely the abolition of the CPSU's leading role in the current Soviet Constitution, also marks a turning point in Soviet history. However, Gorbachev has to accept being asked how long he, as president, wants to continue being the head of the party, which is to be only one party among others, also in his view. This issue will probably be cleared up only at the 28th CPSU Congress, which has been convened for the beginning of July and at which the office of party chairman is to be created. If one is not mistaken, this chairman will not be Mikhail Gorbachev.

EC Commission's Bangemann on German Unity

LD1603223890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1616 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Dresden (ADN)—The GDR has a good chance of carrying out a second German economic miracle. EC Commission Vice President Dr. Martin Bangemann stated this today at a congress of medium-sized enterprises in Dresden. In spite of its backwardness in production, the country is an attractive partner for the future. Of the plan-adminstered economies in East Europe it has the greatest prospect of quickly joining the EC and thus reaching world standards. An important step here is speedy monetary union. In his speech, the politican did not go into further detail about the social consequences.

Bangemann emphasized that the people of the GDR must decide themselves which way they want to go and how quickly. At the same time, he pleaded for a unification of the GDR and the FRG according to Article 23 of the Basic Law. He rejected neutrality for a united Germany. [passage omitted]

German unification and the development of European unity must take place parallel to each other, Bangemann stated to ADN. No fears should arise with the partners of the two sides. In addition, the existing alliance systems

in the East and West can only be overcome in the process of the establishment of a European peace order.

Gysi Comments on Election Results

AU2003113790 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 20 Mar 90 p 2

[Unattributed report on an "exclusive interview" with Gregor Gysi, Party of Democratic Socialism chairman, by unidentified reporter in East Berlin on 18 March: "Those Who Did Nothing Are the Winners"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted describing the People's Chamber elections on 18 March] Now Gregor Gysi is ready for talks. Having managed to get so close to him, I should be allowed to ask my questions; the night is still young anyway.

Has the bandwagon to the GDR's anschluss started moving now? Gysi hopes that "together with the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] and other parties and movements, we will be able to prevent a two-thirds majority."

Is that realistic? He thinks that it is possible. He adds that there are different forces in the GDR SPD, and there will be no such thing as a mandatory party vote in the People's Chamber because the deputies are too new in politics and too fresh for that. Gysi says that in the present situation, it will not be possible to force everybody to vote in a specific way. "What is important now is to bring pressure to bear."

Gysi is less hopeful regarding the trade union law that was decided recently, and that can be abolished by a simple majority of votes in parliament. "In this respect, there is a great danger."

Gysi is shocked by the election outcome for the Christian Democratic Union [CDU]. He says that we should consider that the CDU members had no share at all in the movement last fall. "Those who started the process of democratic restructuring are the losers in these elections, and those who did nothing are the winners."

From Zero to 16 Percent

I ask Gregor Gysi why major sections of the workers in the GDR decided in favor of the CDU. Where and why has the this country's left lost the workers?

Gysi says that "we do not even know whether we ever had them." The election result is, of course, an "answer for our history," including for the "perverted policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]." But in addition, "it all was too much for some sectors of the people."

In what way?

"There was the democratic revolt; then there was the opening of the borders, and then there were many factors that destroyed the people's sense of self-worth, which psychologically leads to the attempt of finding a new identity. Then there was the invasion—of Coca-Cola and bananas and the promise that the deutsche mark would be coming. All that was not easy to digest. Under such circumstances, a substantial section of the people opts for quick solutions."

Gysi says that the two German states' growing together is a "historic process" that cannot be prevented. However, we must prevent the development of a larger Federal Republic. We must see that a new Germany must emerge that should be better than the GDR and the FRG." He says that he will fight for that with all leftist forces—including in the Federal Republic.

Gysi says that the future does not look bad for his party. Gysi adds roguishly: "We started at zero recently, and now we are already at 16 percent."

On Elections, Unification, Mark

AU2003113690 Hamburg BILD in German 20 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with Party of Democratic Socialism Chairman Gregor Gysi by BILD; place and date not given: "Accession on the GDR Not Possible At Present"]

[Text] [BILD] A good result for you?

[Gysi] Well, we had to conduct an election campaign against the Western media, especially against BILD. And we had to conduct it against all parties. Considering this, the result is surprisingly good.

[BILD] What about the Christian Democratic Union's [CDU] result?

[Gysi] I am concerned about it. However, at least the Alliance for Germany does not have a two-thirds majority. This makes constitutional changes to the disadvantage of GDR citizens more difficult.

[BILD] Do you want a joint opposition together with the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]?

[Gysi] We will join where it is necessary so that rightist dreams will not come true.

[BILD] No accession of the GDR according to Article 23 of the Basic Law?

[Gysi] Considering this ratio of representation, I think that this is impossible.

[BILD] And what about the introduction of the German mark?

[Gysi] I also consider it impossible at the moment.

PDS Statement on Election Results

LD1903231790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1914 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] Party Executive Presidium thanks all

those voters who put their trust in the party. Particular thanks go to the active helpers in the election campaign, according to a statement published this evening. The Presidium expects that the PDS deputies will prove themselves worthy of the voters' confidence.

It makes a positive assessment of the PDS's result in the 1990 People's Chamber elections and stresses that it should be taken into account that the party had to link the election campaign with the internal process of renewal. The PDS was exposed to attacks from the FRG mass media and to the disapproval of parties and movements in the GDR. The PDS' share of the vote was attained only through the gradual progress of the party's renewal and through the pragmatic conduct of the election campaign.

The positive election result for the PDS, which was voted the third strongest political force, gives it considerable political responsibility for the future. This result is for us a starting point for continuing the process of renewal in the party and struggling for increasing influence in the country, the statement emphasizes.

The Presidium noted with concern the high share of the vote won by the Alliance for Germany. The Alliance will in the future have to be measured by the promises of its sponsor, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

The democratic process in our country must be extended, social disintegration must be prevented. It is of prime importance, according to the Presidium, to establish a state governed by the rule of law and to dispel the fears shared by many people, including PDS members, of marginalization and undemocratic treatment. "Let us venture more and not less democracy in the GDR! Let us strive for a refined political culture! Let us enter the German and the European unification process together and with confidence!"

Instead of pessimism and resignation, optimism and confidence were dictated for members and supporters of the PDS. The greater the strength and solidarity we show toward one another, and the clearer we determine our position in the People's Chamber, the more favorable are the conditions for fulfilling future tasks, it is stressed. In the forefront here is the preparation for the local elections on 6 May 1990. The PDS remains willing to cooperate with all democratic forces in the GDR. Alliances for the elections on 6 May 1990 should be sought according to local possibilities. It is important for the local elections, as for the People's Chamber elections, that the PDS should respect any election result.

The PDS Party Executive Presidium emphasizes the expectation that the local elections in the GDR should be held in a more autonomous fashion than the People's Chamber elections, "and that there is not once again a colonization of the election campaign by politicians from the FRG."

De Maiziere Speaks on Future Policies

AU2003113990 Hamburg BILD in German 20 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with Lothar de Maiziere, GDR Christian Democratic Union chairman, by S. Wagner and P. Brinkmann on 19 March; place not given: "I Do Not Know Whether I Should Do It"]

[BILD] How do you feel one day after your overwhelming victory?

[De Maiziere] Not very well. I am tired and I hurt my shinbone in the chaos in the Palace of the Republic.

[BILD] And politically? Will you be a candidate for the office of premier?

[De Maiziere] I do not know this yet. I have my doubts about it. More than ever before. I am quite serious.

[BILD] If not you, who else will do it?

[De Maiziere] I do not discuss this now. However, I rule out that the premier will come from the ranks of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD].

[BILD] Who are your coalition partners?

[De Maiziere] Our partners in the Alliance, that is, the German Social Union and the Democratic Awakening, the Liberals, and the SPD. We need majorities to change the Constitution, that is, a two-thirds majority. And this is only possible with the SPD.

[BILD] Will the SPD accept?

[De Maiziere] I do not know this exactly. Perhaps Deputy Chairman Markus Meckel talks only about the opposition to raise the price.

[BILD] What are your next steps, when will you elect the premier?

[De Maiziere] Next week at the earliest. Anything else is nonsense.

[BILD] When will the Deutsche mark be introduced?

[De Maiziere] Before the Deutsche mark comes, the FRG's social network must be extended to the GDR. This must happen very quickly.

[BILD] And when will unity come?

[De Maiziere] Not before the end of the year.

[BILD] Why not have joint elections on 2 December?

[De Maiziere] I think that this is out of the question. A respective decision would have to be made before the end of December. This is laid down in your electoral law. But this is technically impossible for us.

Opposes NATO Troops in GDR

AU2003104590 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 20 Mar 90 p 1

[Stefan Kornelius report: "Conservative Alliance in Favor of 'Broadest Possible Coalition'; SPD: No Alliance if German Social Union Participates in Government"]

[Excerpts] Berlin—One day after the GDR elections, the first problems in the formation of a coalition arose. While Lothar de Maiziere, Eastern Christian Democratic Union [CDU] chairman and winner of the elections, offered cooperation to the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] and the Liberals on behalf of the conservative "Alliance for Germany," GDR SPD Chairman Ibrahim Boehme rejected such a coalition. A government together with the alliance partner German Social Union is out of the question for the SPD, Boehme stated in East Berlin on Monday [19 March]. [passage omitted]

De Maiziere did not want to discuss personnel questions. They only put a strain on the coalition negotiations, he said. So far, the CDU chairman has not claimed the office of premier. The appointment of ministers in a government based on the Alliance must also be discussed, he stated. This also applies to the Economics Ministry, for which former Berlin Economics Senator Elmar Pieroth is also under discussion.

De Maiziere clearly expressed his ideas about the GDR's military integration. "I do not proceed on the assumption that NATO troops will stand on GDR territory," he stated firmly. However, he objected to a neutral Germany. "Neutrality is the expression of a way of thinking that has to be overcome," he said. The military blocs now have to be dissolved and other security structures must be found. He attached "decisive importance" to the GDR's relations with the Soviet Union.

In answer to a question about the form of unification of the two German states, de Maiziere stuck to the statement made by the CDU during the election campaign. Accession according to Article 23 of the Basic Law is the right way. However, this should be subject to a sovereign act by a GDR Government, not by individual laender. Unification must also take place within a framework that does not frighten neighboring countries. Referring to the borders of a united Germany, the CDU politician said: "Germany is as large as Germany was yesterday, and is today." [passage omitted]

On SPD's Rejection of Coalition

AU1903193490 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1800 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Giselher Suhr report]

[Excerpts] The Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] in the GDR has rejected an offer by the bourgeois-conservative Alliance for Germany to participate in a coalition on a broad basis. The Alliance for Germany emerged from the elections as the clear winner, but failed to win the absolute majority. However, the SPD expressed its basic willingness to support necessary amendments to the Constitution. [passage omitted]

In the evening, the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] seemed surprised about the Social Democratic Party's declining the CDU's coalition offer. Chairman Lothar de Maiziere told the Second German Television:

[Begin De Maiziere recording] I think that certain forms must be developed as to how such an offer can be submitted and rejected. Mr. Boehme will have to answer questions in connection with the statements he made during the past few weeks. He used to claim that our country's problems were so difficult that they must be carried on very broad shoulders. Have there been any changes concerning the difficulties and problems? I do not see any. [end recording]

'Alliance for Germany' Favors Coalition Talks

LD1903132190 East Berlin ADN international Service in German 1237 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The elections have produced a convincing democratic result, Lothar de Maiziere said in Berlin on Monday at the start of the news conference where he read a statement coordinated by the Alliance for Germany. That was so because citizens have shown democratic maturity, expressed above all in the very high turnout.

The Alliance parties are striving in the People's Chamber for a parliamentary group community. Out of a sense of national responsibility and in order to make possible a broad basis for determined and effective action by the new government, as grand a coalition as possible should be set up. Therefore, they are inviting the Social Democratic Party and the League of Free Democrats to engage in coalition talks. Seen from the Alliance's viewpoint, the following issues will have to be discussed as a matter of priority:

First, the early establishment of monetary, economic, and social union. The negotiations started will be continued and intensified.

Second, the creation of the laender structures must be swiftly promoted. This appears necessary in order to have democratically legitimate people's representative bodies at all levels.

Third, the German unification process must be embedded in the European unification efforts and is to be advanced in cooperation with our neighbors. The "two-plus-four" negotiations and the CSCE process are the framework within which the development should take place.

Fourth, the new government will be guided by the principle of contractual fidelity.

Fifth, as a clear sign of the growing together of Germany, the Wall should be removed as quickly as possible.

SPD Coalition With Alliance Not Ruled Out

LD2003124890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1156 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Social Democratic Party [SPD] has fortunately not quite shut the door to a coalition with the Alliance for Germany, Rainer Eppelmann, Democratic Awakening acting chairman and minister without portfolio, told ADN today. In an interview he said, with reference to the rejection so far by the Social Democrats of a coalition with the German Social Union that the SPD has made it clear that it is open to consultations with all parties. "I understand this to mean that it is also prepared to hold consultations with the Alliance, but is at present clearly wary of giving these talks the character of coalition talks." It needs to be discovered exactly what prompted the SPD to state this position now so swiftly, in contrast to before the election. "Perhaps it will emerge that it is a strong desire from the 'Bonn camp.' I could think of a few reasons why the SPD in Bonn feels that it would be better if the SPD in the GDR were in the opposition and not in the coalition, if it cannot lead this coalition." This, after all, is the thing that was altered since the period before 18 March.

Boehme Rules Out Coalition With Social Union

LD2003131190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1118 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Social Democratic Party [SPD] will not enter into any coalition with the German Social Union, SPD Chairman Ibrahim Boehme affirmed to ADN today. On the sidelines of a meeting of the party council convened today in Berlin, he reported that he is sticking firm to rejections to this effect that his party issued before the People's Chamber elections during the weekend and that he himself confirmed at the "shortest news conference in the world" yesterday. [passage omitted]

Confidential CSU/DSU Meeting in Hof

LD1903232890 Hamburg DPA in German 1703 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Hof/Saale (DPA)—The party executives of the Christian Social Union [CSU] and the GDR sister party German Social Union [DSU] met today for strictly confidential consultations in the vicinity of the town of Hof in Oberfranken. Taking part on the CSU side were, in addition to party Chairman Theo Waigel, his four deputies and CSU General Secretary Erwin Huber. At the head of the dozen or so DSU representatives who came to Oberfranken were Chairman Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling and top candidate Hans-Joachim Walter. It was agreed not to reveal the subject matter of the several hours of discussion.

East, West German Leaders on Poll Results

PM1903145990

[Editorial Report] London BBC Television Network in English carries at 2005 GMT on 18 March a BBC 2 "Newsnight" special presented by Donald MacCormick live from East Berlin entitled "Ballot in Berlin." In an Olenka Frankiel video report on the election results, the GDR CDU [Christian Democratic Union] candidate Lothar de Maiziere says in German with superimposed English translation: "I think one of the most important reasons for this result is that we have made it clear right from the beginning that we want a strong market economy with a social emphasis, and we want German unification as quickly as possible." Frankiel says: "And this was the message a few minutes ago from the real winner—Chancellor Kohl—the man across the border who pulled the strings." Chancellor Helmut Kohl, speaking German with superimposed English translation, tells the people: "My plea to you in this hour is to stay in your homes, in your villages and towns, to stay in your factories and to help us so that together we can build up this beautiful, wonderful country."

Following the video report, GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow is interviewed by MacCormick. Modrow speaks in German with superimposed English translation. The following is a text of the recorded interview:

[MacCormick] Well, just a few minutes ago, I spoke to the East German Prime Minister Hans Modrow. I asked him how he explained the extent of his party's defeat tonight.

[Modrow] Ninety-eight percent wasn't just for one party: It was for all the parties around the country. There was an arrangement between them how many seats each should get. In this election there is a completely new situation: Now there are many different parties producing totally different results. The PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] looks as though it will get 15 percent—that means it should be a strong opposition in parliament. But there are other parties that will be in the opposition, too: the Peasant Party or the Greens, for instance. It should be possible to have a consensus between these various opposition groups.

[MacCormick] In the campaign, Mr. Modrow, the center-right alliance was pressing the hardest for an early move to a unified Germany. Now that the center right has won, when do you expect to see a united Germany?

[Modrow] You are touching on a problem that isn't just ours, the Germans in the East and the West. It's a question that affects not only our people but our neighbors, too: As the two German states grow together, all of Europe will have to share the responsibility.

[MacCormick] Are you personally disappointed no longer to be prime minister?

[Modrow] No, it has been clear for a long time that this period would be something purely transitional. That is

not my problem: My problem is that I hope that the stability that we've managed to achieve over the past four months—despite all the difficulties—can be preserved.

The program continues with a live panel discussion in the studio, in which MacCormick asks Dr Ottfried Hennig, FRG deputy minister for inter-German relations: "Now how soon do you think the two Germanys are going to sweep on and become one country? Because the leader of the [FRG] Christian Democrats with whom... whom you represent here tonight, in Bonn during the campaign—playing a big part in the East German campaign—were pressing hard for unification but more recently seemed to be sort of reining back slightly. How soon do you think it is going to come?"

Hennig answers: "Well, we were not pressing towards reunification, but the people in the GDR did it, and I think the decisive factor in these elections was that the CDU and her partners, the alliance, said: We want reunification now. The Social Democrats had other arguments but not this 'reunification now.' And this decided the elections. And I think it will happen now, but it is a matter of self-determination and that means that the Volkskammer [People's Chamber] and the new government of East Germany will give their vote, they will say what they want, and our advice is to make it via Article 23, and that means rather fast." "You mean," MacCormick asks, "that individual bits of East Germany can join with West Germany?" Hennig says: "Individual or the whole, as such, yes."

Discussing comments that the East Germans believe unification will bring them quick money, MacCormick asks Hennig, "Did money talk?" Hennig replies: "Not at all. I think people in East Germany know very well that state money will not reform the whole thing but only private money. And that they have to give the conditions free that private money can flow in—not only money from West Germany but also money from West Europe, from all over the free world, and this has nothing to do with Helmut Kohl. [sentence as heard] His advice was 'reunification now,' and I think that was decisive. I can only repeat it."

Reporter Vivian White at the Palace of the Republic asks Volker Ruhe, introduced as FRG CDU general secretary: "Haven't you spurred on the East Germans to expect instant and easy unity, and aren't you now risking paying the price?" Ruhe tells him: "It's quite extraordinary after such a success that you have such worries. I think what has won is the alternative to socialism. People didn't want just a variety of socialism. They wanted the real alternative—a social market policy in the spirit of Ludwig Erhard, and they also wanted to vote for a party that is seeking the unity of Germany on the basis of the present Constitution of the Federal Republic." White says: "Well, there's my point. If they are expecting another Ludwig Erhard, another economic miracle, they are not going to be satisfied, are they, for some time?" Ruhe replies: "Well, it is not an easy way, but we have proposed the currency union, and we are ready to help them with the Deutsche mark over here and also with the social union. That is the only way to stop the flood and the exodus of refugees, by the way."

Returning to the panel discussion in the studio, MacCormick asks Hennig how soon the Germans will achieve unity. Hennig tells him: "This is, first of all, a question of self-determination: The East German parliament has to say now what it wants—what they want, what the government wants—and then we will find a way to arrange it with our Western partners in the alliance, with the Russians. Of course, we have to talk about the security structures; of course, we have to find a way for the Soviet troops to leave or to stay. For me, this is not the decisive point—part of them can stay: It doesn't make me anxious." MacCormick asks him whether the sheer cost will destabilize the whole operation. Hennig tells him: "Of course it will cost something, but in the end, if you look at it after three or five years, I think it will be a very positive factor, and we all will win with that—all of Europe will win with it. And we have an enormous market for the next 10 years to come, and so in the end I see only positive results after we have pushed it a little. That will cost taxpayers money, but in the end, it will be positive."

Elections Held 'Without Complications'

LD1903115490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1115 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The elections of a GDR People's Chamber took place correctly and without complications. GDR Election Commission Chairwoman Petra Blaess made this observation at an international news conference today in Berlin. She referrred to the statement made by Sir Geoffrey Finsberg (Great Britain), spokesman of the Council of Europe delegation, who, as an election observer, confirmed this assessment to the press today.

The journalists learned that 3,130 fellow colleagues from 59 countries, as well as 423 representatives from the GDR press, radio, and television were accredited at the election commission press office and reported on the first free and secret elections in the GDR.

35,000 Demonstrate in Plauen 17 Mar

LD1803104690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1725 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Plauen (ADN)—Once again, 35,000 Plauen citizens gathered for probably their last demonstration in the center of the city on Saturday. The theme of this 22d Saturday demonstration was, however, not the election campaign but joy about the achievements. Many of the inhabitants who have been marching through the city center week after week since 7 October 1989 brought along the placards and banners that they carried in the previous months. The major demands were for freedom, free elections, and a united German fatherland. With

hundreds of black, red, and gold flags and the green and white flags of the Saxony state, as well as the constant shout of "Germany, Germany!" the Plaueners made clear that they will not abandon the course embarked upon.

Ban Lifted on Jehova's Witnesses

LD1903120990 Hamburg DPA in German 1130 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—After a 40-year ban, the Jehovas's Witnesses religious community has now been permitted in the GDR again. Press spokesman Peter Meyer announced today in West Berlin that the Office for Church Matters in the GDR Council of Ministers presented the document of recognition on 14 March. The Jehova's Witnesses are one of the 30 or more churches and religious communities that can now carry out their work in the GDR in complete freedom under the law.

Joint East-West Church Synod Session

LD1803110190 Hamburg DPA in German 1835 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—The first joint plenary session of the two regional synods from East and West in 29 years ended on Saturday evening with the setting up of a joint synod of the Evangelical Church of Berlin-Brandenburg as an interim arrangement. The 236 synod members from the two parts of Berlin and Mark Brandenburg thus endorsed the provisional continuing existence of two regional synods, each of which are to meet in a joint synod. The transformation of the regional synods into a single synod with its own new rules has not yet taken place.

In addition committees have been charged to carry out preparatory work for an organizational church union of the two regional areas of Berlin and Brandenburg. To begin with, a provincial synod order is to be worked out in order to make the establishment of a new joint church constitution (basic order) for the two regions possible.

Following a lengthy debate a statement was accepted that gratefully welcomed the "non-violent changes in the GDR" as a "possibility for new freedom and common concerns," but that at the same time recalls the "worries of Germany's neighbors" about unification. Therefore the synod called for the "final recognition of the present Polish western border as essential for the unification process." The resolution also demands that any new German economic strength be primarily used for aiding the Third World. [passage omitted]

PDS' Gysi Speaks on Education Issues

LD1303161990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1848 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—PDS [Party for Democratic Socialism] Chairman Gregor Gysi argued on 12 March in favor of free education and new forms of support for gifted children and young people, independent of their origin and their parents' financial means. He spoke to former shcool students of the Berlin-Friedrichshain Heinrich-Hertz special school in favor of varied school forms as well which each enable the best development, and grants that could be somewhat higher. Every young person should also be able to take the university entrance exam provided their performance warrants it.

Gysi's "veto" against a NATO-Germany found loud applause. Demilitarization is a decisive question for the PDS. The unification of both German states should take place on equal terms. That presupposes a sovereign, strong GDR that is in a postion to bring something to the unification process. Further questions from the young people dealt with the maintaining of facilities for children, the role of the PDS in opposition, and the motivation of soldiers during the demanded abolition of compulsory military service.

Peasant's Union Founded in Suhl

LD0903212190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1150 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Suhl (ADN)—The peasants' conference in Suhl decided by a large majority on Friday morning to transform the VDGB [Peasants' Mutual Aid Association] into a Peasant's Union of the GDR [Bauernverband e. V. der DDR]. This was agreed by the five land unions the previous evening after heated debate. [passage omitted]

After several hours of heated debate, the Peasant's Union accepted a temporary statute this afternoon. [passage omitted]

Karl Daemmrich was elected president late tonight. He is chairman of the LPG [Liberal Party of Germany] in Breitenfeld and is 50 years old.

Ministry of State Security Files Published

LD1603213490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1549 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The first copies of the collection of documents with orders and reports of the former Ministry of State Security were sold in the center of Berlin this morning. The book carries the title "But I Love You All," named after a comment made by former State Security Minister Erich Mielke in the People's Chamber. At the House of Democracy in Friedrichstrasse, about 200 interested people had waited patiently because the delivery arrived an hour later than notified.

The publication has a print-run of 30,000 copies. It contains for the first time internal documents of the former Ministry of State Security from January to November 1989 that deal with the internal situation in the GDR. Commands and instructions from Mielke, which are also contained therein, are evidence of the

vain attempt to resolve the social problems through repressive means and methods.

The authors of "But I Love You All" are Dr. Stefan Woller and Dr. Arnim Mitter from the Central Institute for General History.

Stasi Facilities in Lubmin Nuclear Power Plant

AU1803145890 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 17-18 Mar 90 p 4

[Hans-R. Karutz report: "The State Security Service Also Controlled the Lubmin Nuclear Power Plant"]

[Text] Greifswald—New disclosures on the espionage "state within the state." The GDR State Security Service maintained a complete shelter for emergencies at the GDR's largest nuclear power plant, the "Bruno Leuschner" plant in the village of Lubmin near Greifswald on the Baltic Sea. The underground basement system had its own control center that was to be run by 23 paid Stasi [GDR State Security Service] specialists in the plant in an emergency. The facilities of the Stasi special office even included a cell for prisoners. The Stasi staffers also had access to guns at any time. Submachine guns and antitank rifles were stored in the weapons chamber.

The members of the Greifswald investigation committee in tracking down all Stasi activities in the area found the highly sophisticated Stasi shelter in the basement of the nuclear power plant on the Baltic Sea. "Our comprehensive report on the State Security Service's activities was confirmed by the independent Greifswald investigation committee early in March." According to the former chief of the office, the Stasi's tasks included "combating every enemy activity on the premises of the nuclear power plant, which included espionage, sabotage, diversion, and terror," says Norbert Meyer, member of the investigation committee and, being the leader of the group on "behavior of materials," one of the plant's leading security experts. He says that the entire "security structure" of the plant, which basically originated in the sixties, is outdated. His sharp criticism of the state of affairs in the power plant—voiced in a Western TV interview recently—led to the plant management leveling serious attacks at the scientist and calling upon him to exercise public self-criticism before 800 staff members. The report on the Stasi's activities revealed the following:

Mielke's employees recruited from among the total of 14,000 workers (parent plant and the site of the building under construction) 50 so-called "social collaborators" (GM) and 150 "unofficial collaborators" (IM). Stasi officers even recruited young talents among 13- to 14-year-old pupils—from grade seven upwards.

The office at the nuclear power plant had everything: "There were 30 rooms on the ground floor and another six rooms in the basement.... A sauna and a cold-water basin were available for the staff," the three-page report says. "Expensive technology," complete communications lines to the outside world, and a telephone switchboard to control the plant completed the considerable security facilities.

Greifswald collaborators followed the plant representatives when they traveled to the Leipzig fair, for instance, to meet with Western experts. Then the Stasi experts checked the "reports on the negotiations to see whether they were true," the report says. Stasi spies also tailed Greifswald representatives on their official trips to Western countries.

Mielke's ministry and the East Berlin leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] directly received information about the neuralgic and dangerous points of the outdated nuclear power plant that was under the direct control of a responsible department director in the Central Committee. The party was well informed about the state of the plant. According to the investigation report, the first "analyses on the weak points" of the plant were made in 1983/84 and were "clear and complete." The only positive point in the report: The Stasi office gave "essential stimuli" to improve the security situation.

Inquiries Against Former Finance Minister Halted

LD1603130490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1425 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Inquiries against former GDR Finance Minister Uta Nickel have been halted. As the press spokesman for the Leipzig bezirk [area] state prosecutor announced today, the suspicion of a criminal offense has not been confirmed following examination of the evidence.

Mrs. Nickel was suspected of serious acts of dishonesty to the disadvantage of socialist property during her period of office as the member of the Leipzig area government responsible for finance.

She was elected finance minister on 18 November last year and resigned on 22 January because of the accusations.

Anti-Abuse Commission Said To Continue Work

LD1603222390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1653 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Council of Ministers wishes to point out that no resolution has been adopted according to which the Independent Investigation Commission against Abuse of Office and Corruption has been asked to stop its work, a statement by the Council of Ministers says. Rather, it expressed its thanks to the commission for its responsible and caring work and decreed that the prime minister will discuss issues of its future work with the commission.

In a talk with Prime Minister Hans Modrow, Christian Ladwig, a representative of the Independent Commission noted that ADN and DPA reports to the contrary, which quoted him, had been distorted.

The commission is concerned to hand over material in an orderly fashion so that no information from the citizens would be lost, Ladwig emphasized. The planned talk will take place on Tuesday.

Honecker Raps Krenz in Letter to Danish Official

PM1603162690 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE SONDAG in Danish 11 Mar 90 p 4

[Jorn Mikkelsen report: "Honecker Thanks Old Danish Communist Party Friend"]

[Text] In a personal letter to Ingmar Wagner, former Danish Communist Party [DKP] party secretary, deposed GDR ruler Erich Honecker has expressed his thanks for the offer of accommodation at Wagner's villa in Praesto.

In the letter, dated 23 February, a deeply moved Honecker thanked his old "comrade" for the offer, which was made shortly after the former party boss was released from prison and interned in a nursing home in Lobetal in East Berlin. The letter was also signed by Margot Honecker—which seems to contradict reports that the couple are now living apart.

In the letter to Ingmar Wagner, Honecker takes the opportunity to level tough criticism at his successor, Egon Krenz, who in October-November of last year succeeded in spending a month at the top before he, too, was toppled.

Honecker accuses Krenz of not submitting to the Central Committee of the then East German communist party, the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], a defense that Honecker had written in response to a number of accusations leveled at him. Honecker is currently awaiting trial, accused of abuse of his position and personal financial gain at the cost of the state.

Egon Krenz, who for years was Honecker's favorite and crown prince, is spoken of in the letter only as "E. Krenz" without the customary title of "comrade."

According to Honecker, his defense was not submitted to the 9th plenum of the Central Committee on 18 October last year, at which Krenz took over. Honecker writes in his letter, which was published in LAND OG FOLK yesterday:

"Through Krenz's actions my letter to the then functioning SED Central Committee was not brought to its attention. Nor was it made available to the general public."

He accuses Egon Krenz of being responsible for the fact that the GDR is now on its way to being dissolved as an independent state. "The SED, which was the GDR's strongest and leading force, was paralyzed, discredited, and smashed. The road toward incorporation into the capitalist FRG was cleared, despite all the objections that existed," Honecker writes.

Ingmar Wagner and Erich Honecker have known each other since the time when they were head of the DKP youth organization and FDJ, the East German youth organization, respectively.

The ties between the DKP and East Berlin have been traditionally strong. Former DKP Chairman Jorgen Jensen preferred to have operations in East Berlin rather than in Copenhagen, and a few years ago Ingmar Wagner was found guilty of smuggling so-called solidarity money from the GDR. Current DKP Chairman Ole Sohn took part as recently as October last year in the homage to Honecker in connection with the festivities arranged to mark the 40th anniversary of the GDR.

Ingmar Wagner's offer of shelter for Honecker has created something of a stir in the GDR. At the end of February a certain Walter Voss, who described himself as a former SED member, sent a letter to LAND OG FOLK protesting the offer. "Wagner does not seem to have been informed of the crimes Honecker has committed," he wrote in his letter.

ADN Director General's Resignation Accepted

LD1503175390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1426 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The application sent to GDR Council of Ministers Chairman Dr. Hans Modrow by ADN Director General Guenter Poetschke to release him from his post as of 1 April of this year has now been accepted. At the same time, the prime minister expressed his gratitude to the agency for "mastering the changes that proved necessary for ADN, too, with the radical democratic change."

A Council of Ministers' resolution also specifies that First Deputy Director General Guenter Hundro has been given the task of exercising this function until the appointment of a new director general.

Guenter Poetschke is currently also the first vice president of the Alliance of European News Agencies. In accordance with the statutes of this association of all the news agencies of Europe, the ADN chief's successor will then take this post.

Fire Breaks Out at Soviet Barracks in Budapest

LD2003100690 Budapest MTI in English 0918 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 20 (MTI)—Early Tuesday morning a fire broke out, for reasons as yet unknown, in the garage of the Soviet Army barracks in Becsi Street in Budapest. Six vehicles burned out.

The Budapest fire brigade arrived at the scene with 16 trucks, and put out the fire in a short time. There were no injuries, but damage is considerable.

Slovak Premier Rejects Czech Role on Magyars

LD2003101990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] The Slovak head of government has rejected the possibility of Czech government mediation in resolving controversial issues between Slovakia and Hungary. Milan Cic, speaking on Bratislava television, announced that they did not consider it sensible [humanus] to link the Magyars in Slovakia with Slovaks in Hungary. The Slovak government has elaborated a draft on the situation of the nationalities, which was handed over to Vaclav Havel, president of the Republic.

Parties Plan Anti-Romanian Demonstrations

LD2003095690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] The leadership of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] called for a demonstration at 1800 tonight at Heroes' Square to protest the anti-Hungarian pogrom in Tirgu Mures. The leaders of the MDF marched to the Romanian Embassy late last night where they tried, without success, to present their statement of objections.

The Alliance of Free Democrats also made a statement condemning the events in Tirgu Mures and called for a joint demonstration in Heroes' Square. The Hungarian Socialist Party is calling for immediate, effective measures, while the Social Democratic Party of Hungary appealed to the European Parliament, asking them to take a resolute stand against the Romanian nationalist manifestations.

* SZDSZ, Nemeth Economic Plans 'Identical'

25000659 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Feb 90 p 7

[Article by National Planning Office official Karoly Lorant: "Kornai and the Free Democrats"]

[Text] Last November Janos Kornai wrote a passionate pamphlet concerning economic transition. The title is expressive because, departing from his habit of rising above daily economic and political battles, the author firmly and passionately argues against the government's present policy, and against the economic trend which I would call a liberal-monetarist economic philosophy. Kornai questions virtually all of the essential points of the presently prevailing economic policy and philosophy.

He expresses his view perhaps most concisely in a critique of the transformation of ownership conditions, which we may properly regard as the work's "Ars Oeconomiae":

"As far as I am concerned I have no confidence whatsoever in the so-called ownership reform and property transformation that is going on at present with impermissible haste. This is an exemplary instance of a desire to accomplish something all at once, when an organic, historical, deliberate progression should take place instead."

Kornai is critical of new forms of property in which one state enterprise or bank becomes the owner of another state enterprise.

"I am not alone, perhaps, in feeling that we have had enough of simulation. By now we have tried many kinds of simulations. We have tried by having state enterprises simulate the conduct of enterprises which maximize profits. We simulate competition by bureaucratic industrial policies which 'transform the structure.' The Pricing Office simulates the price determining force of the market. Now we may add to this the simulated stock corporation, and the simulation of the stock exchange.... This amounts to only a peculiar game of Monopoly. Peculiar, because in this game adult officials are playing with state funds, rather than children with play money."

Who Is Attacking Whom and Why?

Although this critique refers above all to government policies, the challenge was accepted by the Free Democrats [Alliance of Free Democrats, SZDSZ]. In "The Kornai Bomb," a writing that appeared in the 11 November 1989 issue of HETI VILAGGAZDASAG, Miklos Tamas Gaspar conveys only the sense of his disagreement. In a FIGYELO article that appeared on 14 December 1989 Tamas Bauer attacks Kornai's ideas concerning the direction of state enterprises, which undoubtedly is Kornai's most vulnerable point. But before going into the details of the debate, it would be useful to answer the following question: Why do Free Democrats want to repel an attack on government policies?

To explain this, let us go back in time. It is known that in parliamentary democracies various interests and values, and quite naturally also the related economic theories and economic policies, are represented by various parties. Then, in the course of election campaigns, parties or party coalitions alternate in obtaining opportunities to form governments, and to test the economic theory. In the case of a fiasco there is an opportunity to fundamentally change parties and the economic policy concepts.

But in the Hungarian single-party system there was no opportunity for the open manifestation of diverse interests and values. They appeared hidden, primarily in the course of economic debates between "reformers" and "conservatives." "Reform" meant something different at various points in time, of course, and the content of the term "conservative" changed similarly. For example, in the 1960's representatives of reform established the theory of a "socialist market economy," and anyone who had doubts about it and supported planned economic management was regarded a conservative. At the end of the 1980's reformers demanded the development of a market economy based on private property, while those representing the idea of a socialist market economy were regarded as conservatives.

Here, however, we are not dealing with a sterile debate about economics; groups exercising power and desiring to acquire power stand behind the individual theories. "Reform programs" are always proclaimed by groups which endeavor to acquire power, and the political content of economic reform programs diminishes the influence of those in power, and represents gains to reformers. This process may be tracked clearly following the 1968 reform of the mechanism.

The power grouping built on the hierarchy of the large enterprise, the party committee, the branch ministry, and the Planning Office stood firmly prior to the reform. Reform, in which economists from research institutes and financial personnel in functional executive organs played a large role, attacked this structure in its foundations.

The decisive reform measures endeavored to sever the ties (discontinue the bargaining process) between large enterprises and party committees on the one hand, and the branch ministries and the Planning Office on the other, and instead strengthened relations with functional executive organs (price bargaining, regulatory bargaining). In 1972 the traditional structure still repelled the attacks launched against its positions, but after 1977 the reform group increasingly gained the upper hand.

Although the economic policy concepts of the reform group proved to be mistaken one after another, their role in economic and political life increased continuously. In a single-party system, responsibility did not rest with the group of economists which came up with ideas, but with the political leadership that was unable to recognize the real cause of troubles. For example, it is characteristic that members of the Politburo were unaware of the extent of indebtedness even in 1988, and they were even less familiar with the economic and social effects exerted by indebtedness. In a deteriorating economic situation, reform groups were becoming increasingly vocal in demanding increasingly radical reform measures. There being no other way out, the political leadership accommodated these radical reform measures. As a result of these, the economic situation showed further deterioration, thus increasing demands for reform even further. I would like to stress here that the trouble lay not in the reform endeavors themselves, because it was beyond debate that the earlier plan breakdown mechanism had problems. The main trouble could be traced to the means needed to accomplish reform goals. These simply did not fit into the external and internal system of conditions of the Hungarian economy.

The Bottom of the Nest

In 1987 the Financial Research Institute of the Ministry of Finance became the center of reform endeavors. These reform concepts were defined in the institute's study "Turnaround and Reform." In essence this concept means none other than the adoption of the chief theses of the monetarist economic philosophy that flooded the world, beginning in the late 1970's.

In 1987 the political leadership—still possessing power at the time—rejected reform concepts which unequivocally attested to liberalism and which obviously could not be reconciled with socialist principles. The Financial Research Institute was disbanded. The consequences of this action, however, were contrary to expectations. By that time the reform group had grown out from under the wings of financial executive organs. In the course of a decade and a half of behind the scenes battles, and by taking tough, small steps, the reform group solidified its power within state administration. This, then, not only saved the blown-up intellectual base, but gave it a position of far greater influence than before.

Thus, part of the Financial Research Institute personnel became the "hard core" of the government's economic advisory body, while another part formed Financial Research, Incorporated, which in turn became the intellectual base for the SZDSZ. And here we have come to answer our starting question, i.e.: Why is a party which is seemingly in the opposition trying to repel an attack on the government's economic policy? This is a result of the fact that in the peculiar Hungarian reform process the government and the "opposition" SZDSZ represent the same group of reformers. Accordingly, Kornai's attack questions not only the foundations the government policy, but also the identical SZDSZ concept.

After this small, hopefully not uninteresting detour, let us review the main, disputed professional issues. The chief difference between the two points of argument is the issue of proprietary relations from which a number of further differences in economic policy follow. At the center of the SZDSZ critique we find the efficiency of state property. The Free Democrats draw the consequences; the most important step toward liquidating the economic crisis is to transform proprietary relations as soon as possible. They provide a specific program for transformation. One of the outstanding elements of this program is to transform state enterprises into stock corporations. The only concern exists in finding stockholders, because, as the Free Democrats themselves state:

"Private capital in Hungary is insufficient to take control of a significant part of property that is now in the hands of large state enterprises."

Well, the governing branch of reformers found a solution to this problem. By increasing the annual compensation of enterprise managers to several millions of forints, by depreciating the value of enterprise property to a tenth of its worth, and by offering property in this way to foreign capital, one can indeed rid society and the Hungarian state of its property on short notice, which thereafter becomes largely the private property of the reformers. But the Free Democrats confront such criticism in advance so that some aestheticians and reactionary conservative forces do not try to question this process from a moral standpoint:

"The greatest feelings against private enterprise stem from the fact that some huge fortunes are amassed with the spread of private enterprise. This process is in part the natural result of formulating a modern market economy, and in part it is one of its preconditions. There is no assurance that these fortunes will, in every case, accumulate in the hands of fully honest, cultured people who have a sense of solidarity. Nevertheless, using this circumstance for purposes of slowing down or choking off the process would be tantamount to surrendering the idea of a market economy."

I believe that the message conveyed in this passage is clear, nevertheless it appears that this perception does not enjoy general support, even in the present situation. It so happened that in this way an odd situation occurred: In the course of trilateral negotiations the government, wearing the mask of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and the SZDSZ, was able to forge unity with everyone, with groups ranging from the Ferenc Munnich Society to the Christian Democrats. Virtually everyone rejected the present selling out of state enterprises. I assume that it was this moral attitude that made Kornai passionate, because in this pamphlet he clearly states:

"The state property must not be squandered and handed out to just anyone and his brother.... No economic difficulty can warrant the selling out of national property for small amounts of money."

In the end, Kornai defines a concept for ownership conditions in which evolutionary development prevails. He argues for recognizing a dual economic structure, in which state supervision prevails in the state sphere, while the conditions of free market economics are enforced in the private sector. This concept is unacceptable to the Free Democrats, however. For example: In his FIGYELO article Bauer argues by saying that there can be no real prices if the state sector organs do not operate as enterprises, and since large scale commerce exists between the state sector share and within the sectors, the entire price system would become manipulated under the conditions recommended by Kornai. On the other hand, in this case it would become unavoidable for requirements established by the state vis-a-vis the enterprises to become subjects of bargaining, and thus the solution suggested by Kornai would not deviate substantially from the bargaining processes of past decades.

The two kinds of concepts distribute the cards in very different ways to the various organs of state administration. If the proposal advanced by the Free Democrats is accepted, the economy would be controlled by the "financial people," while the Kornai proposal—even if he does not say so—would rely more on direction exercised by branch ministries. This is because the financial parameters to be prescribed to state enterprises would unavoidably require that the approving authority be familiar with a given enterprise's technological and productive relationships, and this capacity exists only in the branch ministries.

The Arguments Do Not Count

As a Planning Office bureaucrat for a decade and a half I had an opportunity to observe the country's destruction at close range. I am convinced that behind a series of mistaken economic policy measures, the simulation mentioned by Kornai played no small role, meaning that economic management believed that what it perceived to be the truth about the economy was actually so in reality. Hopefully the fiascos experienced thus far will suffice to recognize that the state sector, and above all the large enterprises, must be directed not on the basis of simulated market conditions, but on the basis of state economic policy. A government must be able to decide what should be done with the Hungarian foundry, mining, and electrical energy industries, for example, or even with an Ikarusz, and should be able to formulate our system of economic conditions accordingly. Bauer is correct: This is accompanied by bargaining, but it does not hurt for us to know that here we are dealing with bargaining over which a parliamentary system may exercise control.

Beyond proprietary conditions, similarities between the Kornai perception and the liberal concept are apparently greater, but once it comes to practical implementation, the contradictions once again emerge. This is the situation, for example, with regard to judging inflation. The Free Democrats believe that the point of truly free pricing and the firm moderation of inflation must be reached at the same time. They criticize the earlier economic policy, because that policy raised the centrally regulated prices while restricting free prices. In our view this should be accomplished in the reverse, i.e. while controlling centrally regulated prices the free prices should be made truly free. Inflation could be moderated in this way.

I also believe that Kornai is correct with respect to his view on inflation. He says that inflation exists because the present minister of finance and his predecessors decided that there should be inflation. Among advocates of the liberal economic philosophy the view prevails

fully that an inflation of huge proportions, and even greater unemployment, are needed to achieve structural transformation. The reason for this is justified at best by the argument that the same situation exists in other developing countries. On the other hand, they do not know in which direction the economic structure should be transformed. They do not know, because that is the function of the market. In any event, they want to shut down losing enterprises. The liberals are not at all disturbed by the fact that the actual role of these enterprises in the people's economy cannot be determined by the ad hoc nature of the pricing and regulatory systems, for example, and that because of this the counter development of one or another enterprise may not improve, and may perhaps deteriorate, the country's economic situation.

Kornai tries to present arguments against inflation by referring to the income regrouping effects of inflation, its detrimental impact on the poor, and the fact that inflation is contrary to the fundamental goals of changing the economic system, because under inflationary circumstances the possibility for rational economic calculation ceases to exist. But these arguments do not count because income differentiation is a natural companion of economic systems change in the eyes of liberal reformers, and although the impoverishment of broad strata is regrettable, it is the unavoidable price to be paid for changes. Beautiful passages were written in the Program for Changing Systems concerning the most urgent tasks of social policies, but the program neglects to mention that the resources needed to implement these programs do not exist.

Patomkin Reform Measures

There is no difference between the views held by Kornai and those of the liberal reformers in regard to the endeavor to establish a balanced budget. There are differences, however, in regard to implementation. Kornai believes that the tax system would have to be fundamentally revamped in order to establish a stable budget. An essential point in Kornai's stabilization program is the controlling of income at the macro level, a matter to be handled primarily in terms of wages. Whether one likes it or not, administrative measures must be used, because to believe that state enterprises will exercise strict control over wages would amount to self deception.

The "Passionate Pamphlet" stresses yet another factor as the collateral for stabilization: the rational formulation of prices. The present government policy and the Program for Changing Systems also advocate "free" pricing," perhaps intentionally disregarding the fact that the Hungarian economy may be regarded as a market economy to the extent of 25 percent, at most. Kornai agrees. But instead of price liberalization, Kornai envisions free pricing in the private sector, while in the state sector he feels that centrally controlled prices are unavoidable.

The "Passionate Pamphlet" was not written to provide a comprehensive critique of today's Hungarian economic practice, yet it presents the ms that it has reality as its starting point, and not an imaginary economy created as a result of Patomkin reform measures, even though Kornai's ideas require more thorough consideration in regard to several details. It is to Kornai's merit that if there ost neuralgic points well. Bauer relegates the stabilization program recommended by Kornai to the realm of illusion, just as he does the governmental endeavor to create a market economy overnight. In my judgment, however, the merit of Kornai's proposal iis a solution to the present economic problems of Hungary, that solution will be found much rather in the direction suggested by Kornai than in the program of the Free Democrats and the present government policy which desires to implement that program.

Nyers Interviewed on Domestic Developments

AU1903132690 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 18-19 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party, by Gregor Mayer in Budapest; date not given: "I Am a Pessimist in the Short Term, an Optimist in the Long Term"]

[Text][Mayer] Comrade Nyers, when and under which conditions did you gain the insight that the socialist system has to be reformed?

[Nyers] In 1953, at the time of the first government of Imre Nagy. My reform ideas then did not yet touch upon the bases of the system; they concerned economic policy and, above all, the political methods, but not the economic and political structures.

In 1956 there was the second big warning—I became aware of the defects in the structure. After 1956 I participated in the work of a group of economists, which consisted of communists and nonparty people. However, since the economic situation consolidated quickly after 1956, their proposals were not really listened to by the political leadership.

Thinking About Reforms

[Mayer] Did these ideas only concern the economy?

[Nyers] No, at the end of 1956 and the beginning of 1957 we were already thinking of a multiparty system. However, since it was impossible to implement this, we pondered the idea of "pluralism within the one-party system." The core of this idea was that the individual social organizations—trade unions, popular front, etc.—would have received a political function and would have entered in political competition with each other. However, this idea did not gain ground, either.

In 1964 the work on the economic reform entered a new stage, this time under the sign of self-administration. This was partly successful: The trade unions and the local administrations received more independence. However, this was not sufficient to basically change the system itself.

[Mayer] In your youth you were a leftist social democrat. After the merging of the two workers parties in June 1948 you were among those who stayed in the united party. How do you judge this merger from today's point of view?

[Nyers] Originally, I was not a leftist social democrat, but rather a centrist in the social democratic party. Perhaps, with leftist ideas, because at that time I was very taken with Austro-Marxism, but I was a centrist from the political point of view. However, when in Hungarian domestic policy the relationship between the left and the right started to polarize strongly and the question of cooperation between the two workers parties—the "workers unity" as it was called at that time—became very urgent, I became a leftist social democrat and shifted toward the left.

The Path Toward Merging

[Mayer] And how do you see the merger?

[Nyers] It was unavoidable and necessary under the conditions then in East Europe. In the wake of Yalta, East Europe came under the power of the Soviet Union and thus under the influence of Stalin's policy. At the same time, Hungary's economy was very weak, as it had been before the war, which naturally made the workers masses and the peasantry more radical. In 1947 the Communist Party caught up with the Social Democratic Party in terms of members and even overtook it concerning political activity. Social democracy did not have any influence worth mentioning on the increasingly radical peasants, who had just received their land.

In addition, there was a certain pressure from the Soviet side and the Communist Party, after the founding of the Cominform Office, changed its line and worked for a merging with the social democracy, but under Communist predominance. However, at that time we did not know this. But it is a fact that the Social Democratic Party members defected to the Communist Party in the enterprises in masses.

Social democracy, which was weakened in this way, hardly had any other way than to agree with the merging and to try at least to bring to bear the social democratic values within the united party. On the whole, this merging has not stood its test historically, but under the existing conditions in East Europe, there was no other way.

I would like to add that the integration of many Social Democrats into this united party had an essential part in the fact that a strong reform direction and reform movement could develop in Hungary as the first European country.

Synthesis of Values

[Mayer] You have repeatedly stated that a modern socialist party has to be based both on communist and social democratic values. What does this synthesis look like in practice?

[Nyers] I spoke of a synthesis of reform communist and social democratic values. Stalin's communism cannot be synthesized with social democracy in any way. Specifically, I think that the standpoint of social democracy has proved its worth both concerning the need for parliamentary democracy and the unavoidability of market conditions—recognizing this, the internal structure of the party can no longer be based on the principle of democratic centralism.

Communist values, on the other hand, I see in the radical actions against social conditions [as published], in the sensitivity to the problems of the poorest strata, and perhaps in the fact that in Hungary the Communists were able to do much more concerning the question of agriculture than the traditional social democracy. The basic historical mistake of communist philosophy—also after World War II—was that it considered possible the establishment of a socialist new world without a market, the complete homogenization of all social groups and strata and—derived from the latter—the superfluousness of political democracy.

Reconsidering the Legacy

[Mayer] To what extent, do you think, will a modern left be based on Marxism and to what extent will it be based on Lenin's legacy?

[Nyers] The entire philosophical legacy of the socialist and communist movement must be reconsidered. In any case, one has to proceed beyond so-called Leninism—because this developed only after Lenin, and Lenin's early ideas were partly adapted to later conditions or were completely distorted.

"Leninism" is in fact a creation of Stalin, Lenin considered himself a Marxist. As regards Marxism, I am a follower of a "preserving overcoming"—preserving the basic ideas, overcoming the theses. I consider Marx and Engels' life achievements as the basic heritage of today's Marxism, which is subjected to all the more change, the more we move away in time from the forefathers.

Uncertain Left

[Mayer] One week before the elections it looks as if the left in Hungary is being completely pushed out of a position which shapes the policy of the country. Of course, this is not yet 100-percent sure, but where do you see the place of the left if this happens, which is likely?

[Nyers] The election results cannot be forecast in any way. One thing is sure, and that is that conservative and right forces will win strongly. The left has become uncertain and has been split up by the development of the past years. This will be reflected in the election results. The left and potentially left parties—such as the Hungarian People's Party or the Independent Social Democrats—do not seem to be ready to form an alliance at present.

[Mayer] Many observers currently expect a government coalition of Free Democrats, Small Land-Owners, and Democratic Forum....

[Nyers] Such a constellation is neither impossible nor a certain fact.

[Mayer] Does the Hungarian Socialist Party still have hopes of becoming the force that will form the government?

[Nyers] We are the alternative. If we see the possibility to enforce our standpoint in such a way, we are willing to participate in a coalition. Otherwise, we will check the government's work as a parliamentary opposition.

Solidarity and Internationalism

[Mayer] The communist parties in the West are currently in a crisis of identity, because they were not willing to adopt a criticial position on the events in the East out of whatever kind of solidarity. However, this solidarity was part of an internationalism of the entire movement, on which a bad light has now also been cast....

[Nyers] Internationalism itself has become neither useless nor superfluous, except as in the concept of internationalism under Stalin or Brezhnev.

As a breakthrough at the declarative stage I consider the passages in the documents of the conferences of European communist and workers parties of 1976, which were included at the pressure of the Italian, Spanish, and French parties, and which replaced so-called proletarian internationalism with internationalist solidarity, which is based on democratic independence. This latter kind of solidarity will be necessary for the socialists and for the left in the future, too. However, it must be categorically rejected that one party or a few parties bindingly force their concept of internationalism on others.

Market Economy Versus Market Economy

[Mayer] In your view, what distinguishes a socialist market economy from a social market economy, which is also propagated by the conservatives in the West?

[Nyers] The basic difference is that in a socialist market economy one proceeds from the dominance of common property—including a high degree of state property—as well as from social planning. It is distinguished from the national economy of the Stalinist type that common property is no longer expressed in one single, unified form and that planning does not control the common enterprises via commands and orders but through monetary means.

In a social market economy, as it is gaining ground in Hungary now, mixed forms of ownership replace the past ones and common property as well as domestic and foreign property play and equally decisive role.

[Mayer] And which form do you like?

[Nyers] In the past I thought that the socialist market economy would be right and realistic for Hungary. Under the current specific conditions, however, I think that the national economic power is not sufficient for this. Thus, only social market economy is possible, but it must be more social than in the West!

[Mayer] Comrade Nyers, permit me a personal question in conclusion: Are you optimistic or pessimistic in view of the latest events in East Europe, of the forthcoming German unification, and of a potentially imminent crumbling of the Soviet Union?

[Nyers] In the short term I am pessimistic, but in the long term I am optimistic.

[Mayer] And on what do you base your long-term optimism?

[Nyers] On the analysis of the current social conditions in East Europe. The state of these societies does not permit control in the spirit of conservatism. Social sensitivity is strongly developed all over East Europe, and so is, unfortunately, the backlog in the process of modernization. I think that this can be remedied only by a policy of socialism.

[Mayer] Thank you for the interview.

MDF's Antall Surveys Political Situation

AU1903155190 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Mar 90 pp 1,7

[Report on interview with Jozsef Antall, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Lajos Pogonyi in Budapest; date not given: "We Are Not Lagging Behind Anyone in Central-East Europe"]

[Text] The general director of the Semmelweis Medical History Museum, Library, and Archives was elected as chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] by a 97 percent majority at a secret ballot during the Second MDF National Conference. He was a quarter of a second late for the interview, set for 9 o'clock in the morning, and he apologized for this in his rather small office in the party headquarters in Bem Square in Budapest.

[Pogonyi] I came to know you in the parliament last summer when the national roundtable negotiations were in a critical phase and the debate was in progress on the future form of government in Hungary. You behaved at that time with enviable calm and optimism. Tell me, what could upset you?

[Antall] In politics?

[Pogonyi] For example.

[Antall] Nothing, or not very much. This is probably also due to the fact that whatever conflicts I had in my childhood, my father never asked me what had happened, but whether I had lost my temper or not. I have

never been an indifferent person. The British say that self-control is the basis of every rule.

[Pogonyi] Do you aspire to rule?

[Antall] No, what I said means that in politics, and generally in leadership, one should not lose self-control. Of course, this principle has a lot of disadvantages, because people often abuse it. In politics, one should not only respect the other person's position, but should also think it through. I have always envied those who always had only one idea about everything and have stuck to this idea firmly. I think a politician must be patient and think in a pluralistic way. In addition to professional knowledge, intuition is also extremely important in politics. One should feel what is worth sticking to.

[Pogonyi] After your political ars poetica, let us shift to the so-called peaceful transition. Recently, one of the leading figures in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] called this concept a political charlatanism. What is your opinion of this?

[Antall] This description does not fit what is currently going on in Hungary. After the political dictatorship and illegalities of past decades, every politician who caused all this can only be grateful for the fact that we are now witnessing a real, peaceful transition in Hungary. This process is due to the sobriety of the Hungarian people, the responsible and constructive opposition forces, the favorable international situation, and to the fact that a group emerged in the former MSZMP, which recognized that there was a need for a change in our political regime. The tension in Hungary was not as great as, for example, in the CSSR, the GDR, or Romania where, precisely because of this high tension, the revolutions took place with a much bigger explosion. In the last decade of the Kadar era, the "political steam was already released" and the people felt that they lived relatively better and more freely than the population of the neighboring countries. As a result, the transition so far has really been peaceful, and I hope it will stay like this. As for political charlatanism, the gentleman in question does not choose his expressions properly; on the contrary, he often seasons his statements with provocative observations. In my opinion, the final result of the peaceful transition will not be a change in the regime, as it is fashionable to say today.

[Pogonyi] But what?

[Antall] A change in the political system.

[Pogonyi] What is the difference between the two?

[Antall] A change in the system means that we should create a new constitution. Hungary has become a republic, and we are shifting from a state monopolistic and state socialist economic system to a free market economy, and creating a parliamentary democracy by means of free elections. I normally use the word "change" in connection with clothes.

[Pogonyi] Well, in the midst of the change in the system, some parties claim that we are heading toward anarchy, that precapitalistic feudal conditions prevail in the country, anticommunist and antisocialist incitement is going on in the country, anti-Semitism is spreading, and that Hungary is becoming increasingly fascist. There are parties that claim that Hungary has slowed down compared to the other East European countries. You have visited many countries and have been received by their leaders. What is the opinion of your hosts about this, and what is your opinion?

[Antall] We held 47 meetings in the United States in nine days. I also had a very busy program in France and in the FRG, and I could list other places I have visited and people I have met. I say all this not out of snobbery or to show off, but because, in my view, if one serves the Hungarian nation, one's first task is to improve the image of Hungarians and to create a realistic and honest image of Hungarians! This has always been the main task of my life. Our enemies deliberately distorted this image beginning with the end of the last century. Between World Wars I and II, the little Entente helped isolate Hungary from the West, and after 1945 we became a fascist nation, Hitler's last ally. Anti-Hungarian propaganda is being carried out in some neighboring countries and among their emigres. We should not have illusions that there is no such thing! A great competition is now under way to grab a more advantageous position during the landslide changes in Central-East Europe. Others try to play down our pioneering role and our current attitude. In several international conferences, I also noticed the beginning of competition among developing countries not only against Hungary, but also against the other East European countries. The developing countries are worried that to their own detriment, Western and Japanese capital would prefer to contribute to the development of this area.

There Is No Right-Wing Danger

Unfortunately, even some responsible Hungarian politicians threaten us with Balkanization or Lebanonization if their party does not make it into the government. I think it is not right for a party to present itself as the sole savior. In exchange for greater political support from abroad, other parties tell the foreign press that there would be anarchy in Hungary without them. I do not see any such danger. There can be anarchy if the parties lack a normal readiness to compromise and a minimum of cooperation, and if some of them incite confusion by making use of social demagogy, and then make use of the means of dictatorship in order to stop the aforementioned confusion. Nor do I see any danger of fascism in Hungary. Right-wing radicalism has no mass basis in Hungary. There are political extremists in every country, but this is another matter. During a change in the political system, formerly subdued passions emerge, and this is natural. Individual cases do not mean that such extremism has great influence on the masses. There are mad people in Britain, France, and Germany, too. The essential thing is whether such extremism has weight and

is accepted by the masses or not. Forces ranging from the center-left to the center-right, that is the center forces, should eliminate the extremist political poles.

As for the Hungarian "slowdown," wherever I visited, nobody overestimated the fact that in other East European countries a coalition government might already exist. We are not lagging behind anybody in Central-East Europe. The key issue is that the necessary changes have not yet taken place on the level of local authorities, and this is also true of the large-scale enterprises, the agricultural cooperatives, and public administration. Therefore, people might feel that we have slowed down. However, the neighboring countries are not better off in this respect. As for Anna Petrasovits' statement, according to which Hungary is in a pre-capitalistic state, this claim is both unhistorical and apolitical. The chairman of the Social Democratic Party should correct this statement.

[Pogonyi] You said that center forces should cooperate against extremist political poles. At the meeting in Lakitelek, the founders of the MDF welcomed the reform communists present at this meeting, and in November 1989, you said that you could not imagine a government in Hungary without the socialists. Nowadays, one can hear the opposite from the MDF. What is the reason for this? What happened in the meantime?

[Antall] A party makes its political decisions in a plenary form. The leading bodies of the MDF recently made a decision according to which we do not want to form a coalition with the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP—MSZP] in the first government after the elections. Among the opposition parties, we do not exclude any which is a member of the Opposition Roundtable. We will form our opinion only at the national meeting following the elections. It is another matter whether the Independent Smallholders Party, the Christian Democratic People's Party, or the Hungarian People's Party, that follows the traditions of the Petofi Party of 1956 are closest to us.

[Pogonyi] Let us return to the MSZP.

[Antall] Well, at the time, there were forces in the MSZMP who constantly opposed Kadar's policy and later that of Karoly Grosz, who was hindering the development of a multiparty system. During the national roundtable negotiations, we saw a tough struggle going on within this party, and therefore we supported the reform socialists—Imre Pozsgay, Miklos Nemeth, Gyula Horn, and Matyas Szuros—against the conservative forces. This was our attitude until the party congress held in 1989. That is, our goal was to make sure that the aforementioned reformers took the lead against Grosz and others placed even more to the left. In the international and domestic policy situation prevailing at the time, we had to support these forces.

The Situation Has Changed

Think of the foreign and domestic political conditions prevailing at the time, and of the party and government guidance at the time in the CSSR, GDR, Bulgaria, or Romania, and of the tough struggle between Gorbachev and Ligachev. At the time, we really did not exclude cooperation with the reform socialists, but we never spoke of a two-party coalition, and we were for a government including the other parties too. We emphasized the need to refrain from giving up the key ministries like in Poland. However, the domestic and foreign political conditions have changed. We regarded highly the aforementioned reform socialist politicians and we appreciated their role in dismantling the party state; naturally, we continue to appreciate this. Everything that happened after this justified us in changing our attitude toward the MSZP.

[Pogonyi] What do you mean?

[Antall] Among other things, the fact that the MSZP did not develop to the extent expected from the reform socialists on the basis of their previous achievements.

[Pogonyi] Pardon me, but you said yourself that the reform politicians took an active role in dismantling the party state. What else did you expect from them?

[Antall] We expected a considerable political force led by the reform socialists.

[Pogonyi] Do you seriously think that a strong MSZP is in your interest?

[Antall] This is not what I am saying. We thought of a party that enjoys international and domestic recognition under the leadership of the aforementioned politicians, a party which adjusts to the rules of parliamentary democracy. They did not create a socialist-oriented social democratic party in the West European sense of the word. State and government power swallowed the reform socialists we had respected. This party kept personalities in its apparatus and gathered people around itself with whom we do not wish to cooperate. A subjective observation: As a political party, the MDF can be glad that the reform socialists are unable to take a uniform stand, just like in the Kadar era, and in Grosz' time. However, this has extended our political crisis and hindered a timely change in power.

[Pogonyi] Of course, there are also different trends in the MDF.

[Antall] Yes, but the national trend, the classic liberal trend based on Hungarian traditions, and the Christian democratic trend form a synthesis in our party.

[Pogonyi] All right, but then what is the purpose of the separate free-thinking group within the MDF?

[Antall] This is a spiritual workshop, but not a rigidly separate trend, and it is similar to our Christian democratic workshop formed in Gyor.

[Pogonyi] Speaking of liberalism, I cannot avoid asking the following question: Are you again on speaking terms

with the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], an issue recently discussed by Denes Csengey in his exchange of letters with Janos Kis?

[Antall] The conclusion about speaking terms is a writer's formulation. I do not know of any discontinuation of speaking terms. I myself gladly engage in political discussions with Janos Kis, Peter Tolgyessy, Imre Mecs, and others, just as I do with Imre Pozsgay, Miklos Nemeth, Gyula Horn, and Matyas Szuros.

[Pogonyi] What, then, is the basis of your conflict with the SZDSZ and some of its representatives?

[Antall] In their slander campaign against us, the SZDSZ and some of its representatives accused us of being nationalists, anti-Semites, and populists, and of signing secret pacts with the communists.

The MDF Is Not a Nationalist Party

Because of their statements about the MDF made at home and abroad, especially among various circles in the United States, cooperation with the SZDSZ is very difficult. All this has been steadily worsening our relations. We cannot accept their political style and methods. Besides, Peter Tolgyessy and Janos Kis said, about the role of the SZDSZ in the Hungarian political arena, that they want to be to the left of center, in the center-left, a place filled by the socialist and social democratic parties in West Europe. We also regard as important the preservation of European leftist values, which are part of the balance of political democracy in Europe. We accept the claim made by the SZDSZ that the MDF is a center-right party, and this is based on the synthesis of the aforementioned three trends. However, by no means are we the followers of the Hungarian right-wing traditions of the period between the two world wars. Not so long ago, together with the government, the SZDSZ believed in spontaneous privatization; now, it has taken the MDF idea of controlled privatization. We definitely believe in a social market economy (CDU, CSU, etc.) I do not want to talk now about the SZDSZ idea of dealing with our debts and about the contradictions in this idea.

[Pogonyi] In conclusion, allow me to ask you a very topical question. What is your opinion about the declaration attributed to you and published in the ZYCIE WARSZAWY, according to which you would consider some MSZP members in forming a coalition government?

[Antall] Fortunately, this was not an interview with me, but a question from a journalist during a public press conference on 1 March, and I answered this question in front of at least 50 people in the spirit of my interview to NEPSZABADSAG on this occasion. Answering the question of the Polish journalist, who worked with an interpreter, whether the current premier, foreign minister, and others could participate in the same government with the MDF, I said the following: These respected figures belong to another party, and our position concerning the coalition refers to this, and naturally, they have a place in Hungarian public life. Therefore, I submitted a protest and a request for correction to MTI and to the Polish newspaper in question.

Commentaries React to GDR Election Results

Gadomski Warsaw Radio Commentary

LD1903123489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Jan Gadomski commentary]

[Text] The majority of the GDR citizens have expressed their opinion on fundamental state issues.

First, they have come out in favor of a speedy unification of both German states.

Second, they are in favor of an Anschluss [German word used] of the GDR, rather than a new constitution of the united state.

Third, they prefer that the course of the unification process be decided in Bonn rather than in Berlin.

Fourth, they favor the prospect of quick prosperity and are against all kinds of ideology.

The mass involvement of the West German Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union, both political and financial has had an unquestionable impact on the result of the GDR elections. The victory has however been worth the price. Never in his term of office has Chancellor Kohl had such a strong position. Nothing can now take away from him the role as the architect of German unification.

The GDR springboard has, however, failed the Bonn Social Democratic Party of Germany. The victory of hard currency as an electoral argument is being turned into profit by the one who has the currency at his disposal—Helmut Kohl, the head of a conservative party and a man trusted by the great West German business world. It is not a social transfer of the GDR experiment to the FRG, but a transfer of the great Western business to the East, which is to be the result of the unification. In this respect, the outcome of yesterday's elections is unequivocal.

Government Spokeswoman Comments

LD1903222290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Government press spokeswoman Malgorzata Neizabitowska has commented on the GDR elections. She recognized them as the first democratic elections in the history of that country. At the same time she expressed the hope that the new GDR authorities, just like our government, will cultivate the positive achievements between our countries.

We are sure, said Malgorzata Niezabitowska, that after the elections the GDR will continue to recognize the Zgorzelec Treaty as the foundation of the good-neighbor Polish - German relations.

In conclusion Malgorzata Neizabitowska stated the process of unification of Germany will gain a new stimulus as a result of the elections, and will be in harmony with the construction of the new system of security on our continent.

Jaruzelski Interview on Talks With Mitterrand

PM1903095090 Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in French 10-11 Mar 90 p 32

[Interview with President Wojciech Jaruzelski by Christophe Urbanowicz in Paris on 9 March]

[Text] [Urbanowicz] Did your talks with President Mitterrand live up to your expectations?

[Jaruzelski] Entirely. I put forward our assessments, our hopes, and our anxieties, and France fully supported our expectations, especially regarding German reunification and the Oder-Neisse line. The result was very positive and our aims fully achieved. The results of these discussions will serve Franco-Polish relations and the development of the situation in Europe, and will help solve all the EC's vital problems.

[Urbanowicz] Does Poland still intend to participate in the two-plus-four forum on German reunification?

[Jaruzelski] Poland must participate in the phase of the negotiations relating to borders. Recognition of the Oder-Neisse line is a key condition for normal development of the German question. It must be one of the first points in the negotiations. With regard to the participation of Polish representatives in the two-plus-four conference, it must take place as soon as possible, in the preliminary stage, because the elimination of the border problem will pave the way for a solution to all the other problems which it will tackle.

Poland should not participate officially in this conference but should just intervene at a specific stage when it would be a fully competent participant. In other words, it would enjoy the status of associated participant and would not participate in the whole negotiation process.

[Urbanowicz] Do you think that the future reunified Germany should be neutral?

[Jaruzelski] This problem should not be solved in an existing official framework, in other words NATO or the Warsaw Pact. The essential question is the extent to which the European balance will be maintained. We need a new assessment of that balance because it has been undermined by the recent upheavals. We must therefore find a solution which can meet the security interests of all.

[Urbanowicz] Many Poles think that the roundtable agreements are no longer relevant and that, consequently, it is becoming necessary to hold new parliamentary elections.

[Jaruzelski] The roundtable has certainly been overtaken regarding the letter of the agreements, but not as regards their spirit, in other words consensus, national accord,

stabilization, and pluralism. It is possible for elections to be held early, but we must not speed up their date. We must not open two fronts at the same time. The first is the economy and the second is politics. An election campaign is likely to be hampered by the national effort in the economic sphere.

The second reason is that the elections must take place when the political situation has been clarified, when forces with structured forms, organization, and programs appear on the Polish political scene. However, this is not yet the case. And even if I do not count on completing my presidential term, I will continue to offer Poland the benefit of the preferential relations which I have with both East and West.

Trade Problems With USSR Remain 'Unresolved'

LD1903154990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Stefan Sitaryan, deputy premier of the Soviet Union, and those accompanying him have been received at the end of their visit to Poland by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Very intense talks concerning a broad scope of Polish-Soviet cooperation lasted for two days. However, many problems have remained unresolved. Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz mentioned that among these is the need to increase Polish exports of machinery to the Soviet Union over the set amount of $1.6 billion, and to establish the principles of trade for next year, including the limits of world prices and hard currency clearing transactions, as well as to discuss issues related to our debt. Consequently, the talks will continue in Moscow in two weeks' time.

Swiecicki on Trade Imbalance With Soviet Union

LD2003025590 Warsaw PAP in English 2250 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 19—Poland and the Soviet Union wound up here today talks held to work out a new model of economic cooperation and trade, to define a trade protocol for 1990 as well as trade balance and to solve Poland's indebtedness to the USSR.

Today's talks were a continuation of a meeting of co-chairmen of the intergovernment economic, scientific and technological committee Vice-Premiers Leszek Balcerowicz and Stepan Sitaryan.

Also today, Stepan Sitaryan was received by Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

The two delegations will meet in Moscow in two weeks and will continue their talks, Sitaryan told PAP asked about the assessment of the two-day talks.

In the opinion of Leszek Balcerowicz there are still a few issues to be solved. They include a possible increase of Poland's exports to the Soviet Union and of trade surplus above the agreed amount of 1.6 billion transfer roubles. It is necessary to discuss rules according to which Poland will conduct trade with the USSR after 1990.

The point is to define a formula of current world prices and free currency settlements. Solved must be also the problem of Poland's indebtedness in transfer roubles which this country wants to see as a significant element of the whole of economic affairs between Poland and the Soviet Union, Balcerowicz told PAP.

Signing of Protocol on Turnovers

Ministers Marcin Swiecicki and Konstantin Katushev signed at the Okecie Airport here today a protocol on trade turnovers between Poland and the Soviet Union.

Minister Swiecicki asked to comment on the protocol said that exports of Polish machines and equipment were the key issue of the document. It was agreed they would total 1.6 billion transfer roubles this year. It is only 30 per cent of last year's exports of machines and equipment. Exports may go up if we agree upon favourable conditions. We will discuss these issues in Moscow in two weeks, said he.

We will also discuss the question of Poland's indebtedness, in the context of numerous "blank spots" in mutual economic exchange. While speaking about "blank spots" I think of our investments in the Soviet Union which were evaluated below world prices and which in this case are binding in trade with the CMEA.

Of significance will be an approach to our debt as when we make settlements in convertible currencies one does not know how to calculate the service of Poland's debt, in roubles or in dollars, said he.

Jarcin Swiecicki also said that in the light of the signed protocol this year Poland had at the beginning foreign trade surplus which would lead to trade equilibrium during final settlements.

Mazowiecki Comments on Upcoming U.S. Visit

LD2003072890 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Washington, March 18—In his interview for THE WASHINGTON POST daily, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki stated that an important goal of his upcoming visit to the U.S.A. would be gaining the American support for the Polish Government's postulate that Germany will soon sign a treaty which would once and for good exclude any doubts as far as the stability of the Polish western border is concerned.

The premier also stated that he would seek the U.S. support for Poland's presence at all stages of the two-plus-four talks when Poland's security is discussed and not only when the talks concern borders.

Premier Mazowiecki expressed a conviction that the Polish Government delegation would gain full understanding of the Polish stand and hoped that during the talks in Washington, where he is to go on March 20, he would manage to influence the U.S. Administrations stance.

Newspapers View Relations With U.S.

LD2003093490 Warsaw PAP in English 0005 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 20—Newspapers frontpage the visit of the Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the U.S., starting today and carry related commentaries dealing with prospects of Polish-American relations.

The dailies also cover the meeting of the Council of Ministers here yesterday which focused on the situation in agriculture and sought ways to prevent negative trends in farming and adopted a draft law on the liquidation of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" publishing cooperative.

Frontpage coverage is accorded to the Polish-Soviet economic talks that ended here yesterday with the signing of a protocol on turnovers between Poland and the Soviet Union for the current year.

Highlighted in today's papers is the meeting in Gdansk yesterday of the Solidarnosc national executive commission devoted to the union's stand on privatization of the economy, wage indexation, the level of the guaranteed minimal wage and unemployment.

The papers also frontpage that Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki published yesterday regulations on the elections to rural district councils, to be held on May 27.

"If one hears today that while remaining in her tested alliances Poland is at the same time considering her relations with the U.S. a priority, one can draw quite definite conclusions from the statement which was considered unusual not a long time ago. They refer to better guarantees of American support for our political needs and interests of security in Europe," wrote TRYBUNA in a commentary on Premier Mazowiecki's visit to the U.S.

"They are connected with the broadening of planes of cooperation, removing barriers in economic and trade contacts, with further credit facilitations, bringing U.S. business to Poland, and helping in easing the burden of Poland's indebtedness on the international forum."

"The Polish-U.S. relations have been marked recently by great and unprecedented animation. This has also been a sign of some exceptionality which should become a normal state, namely, a lasting one," the daily went on.

"Thus today, when so much depends on ourselves, a time has come to find new forms of contacts and to work out more effective mechanisms of stable cooperation. This cannot be done by one visit, even the longest one. But it can provide a valuable occasion to look jointly to a better, that is normal, future," TRYBUNA opined.

Report Examines Progress With Privatization

AU1903084890 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 12 Mar 90 p 2

[Tomasz Szymanski report: "A Taste of Blood"]

[Text] Polish is mixed with English, calm telephone conversations are interspersed with nervous arguments. Eighteen people, caught in a whirlwind of difficulties, are trying to implement government proposals concerning the privatization of the economy. This is the Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for Changes in Ownership.

"When some people talk of money, they taste blood on their lips," the staff in this office tell me. When I ask them whether it is true that 80 percent of state enterprises will shortly go private, they shrug and say: "We never said that."

The Office, which has been operational since 1 November, is dealing with three spheres. First, the creation of a legal basis for a Polish securities market. The point is to replace administrative decisionmaking on economic matters with market mechanisms, and introduce an economically-controlled transfer of resources within any one industrial branch or from one branch to another. This is to be made dependent on a securities market, a stock exchange, and the laws of supply and demand. For example, the employees of the Office are preparing the legal rules that would govern the functioning of a stock exchange and the state's powers of control over these processes.

"Without privatizing part of the economy, there will be no securities market," the Office staff say. Preparing enterprises for this privatization is the second sphere of tasks dealt with by the Office. Specified state enterprises will gradually be converted to trade companies, after which shares in these companies will be sold to private investors by public subscription. It is envisaged that anyone will be able to view the prospectus of an enterprise that is up for sale. This will contain basic information an the relevant enterprise's output and finances, with long-term forecasts. This information will be prepared by the enterprises themselves, with the help of Polish and foreign firms of consultants, but under the supervision of a specialized central administrative body (a suitable name might be the Ownership Transfer Agency).

In the Office, they asked me to say in my article that in no way can the privatization of an enterprise be a way of creating more favorable economic conditions for that enterprise, a panacea for the harshness of the economic system, or a way out of difficulties. Privatization is primarily designed to be part of the process of creating a securities market.

The work forces of privatized enterprises will enjoy priority in purchasing a proportion of the shares in this enterprise. For example, they may be given a 50 percent discount, or the shares may be paid for by installments. After the relevant quota of such shares has been bought up, employees will be allowed to purchase the rest of the shares by public tender.

If the shares are not sold within two years, they will be transferred to the bank, which will then distribute them, otherwise they will lose their value, which would affect early purchasers. This will counteract the temptation to distribute securities by administrative methods. Foreign customers will be able to buy shares at a higher rate than domestic customers, and only under the supervision of the Foreign Investments Agency.

This kind of privatization is supposed to be designed for those with average incomes. A list of the first enterprises to go on sale will be published soon. These will be efficient firms capable of managing under the new economic conditions.

I quote this information without comment, though the comment automatically forms itself on one's lips. By selling a state enterprise in the hope of a once-only influx of funds from private investors, will the state treasury not be waving goodbye to veritable golden nuggets, supplying endless profits? The weakness of the Polish investments market may also mean that only a small percentage of enterprises can be privatized this way in any single year. If the supply of shares is high, their value will fall, and that must not be allowed. That is why the people in the Office shrug at the idea of 80 percent of Polish enterprises going private soon.

Those who are wealthier and have better access to loans (how will they repay them?) will be able to avail themselves of so-called small privatization, which involves privatizing or leasing entire small enterprises, or specific parts of larger ones. This will apply to state trade, tourist, and transportation enterprises, as well as others. In this case, privatization is supervised by the Domestic Trade Ministry. It is dealt with by special teams appointed by voivodes. This process has already started in Warsaw and Katowice, and will shortly begin in Gdansk, Wroclaw, and other cities. Voivodship internal trade enterprises selling industrial goods are already being privatized.

The Office people assured me that the state would not give up its powers of intervention in the process of privatization. For instance, enterprises on the verge of bankruptcy cannot be privatized, for that would incur greater losses by society. The employee of such an enterprise would suffer the most, for he would lose not just his job, but also his savings.

In practice, the privatization of the economy has not yet stood on its feet. It is only just beginning to crawl. The subject is an exciting one. Whether that is justified will be revealed in practice. But it would be good to minimize all the negative points at the very outset. The first major doubt is: Will an impoverished society be able to afford to buy shares in even the most successful enterprises?

Walesa Against 'Solidarity' as Political Party

LD1903133590 Warsaw PAP in English 1825 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Katowice, March 18—Lech Walesa met yesterday with representatives of the Slask-Dobrowa (southwestern Poland) region's "Solidarnosc" in Bytom.

Answering a question concerning the character of the union, Lech Walesa stated that he had no right to change "Solidarnosc" into a political party and would not do it. Only the upcoming congress can decide about such changes. Walesa also said that the congress would decide about the end of the "honeymoon" for the government.

"It is time that 'Solidarnosc' started to defend the rights of its members. We will bid farewell to that what the government does wrong and we will welcome that what it does well," Walesa said.

Walesa appealed to those present for joining trade unions, not necessarily his union, and stressed the necessity to control people managing various spheres of life—also that of trade unions.

Next questions concerned international matters, the german issue and meeting with Havel. The participants in the meeting also asked Walesa whether he would like to remain chairman of the union or, maybe, to become a president. "Neither of these. I will stay with you to the end and then I will ask what is to be next," Walesa answered.

Walesa was asked why he had not visited the "Wujek" coal mine where in 1981 nine miners protesting against the introduction of martial law were killed. "You are right, this is my fault. It is not laziness or some game of mine. I will make up for it," he promised.

Ending the meeting, the "Solidarnosc" leader asked the participants to hold a vote on that what he had said—a vast majority voted in support of his policies. With five persons. who raised their hands against, he started a dialogue saying that he was very interested in the views of those opposing him.

Kaczynski Eyes Solidarity's Future in Economy

PM1903141190 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 19 Jan 90 pp 1, 8

[Interview with Lech Kaczynski, Solidarity National Executive Committee Presidium member, by TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC deputy chief editor Maciej Zalewski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Zalewski] What is Solidarity's position today as a union? How do you see it from Gdansk, from the National Commission's offices?

[Kaczynski] The role of the Solidarity trade union became marginalized as soon as the Solidarity movement assumed power in the country.

The exercise of power involves a series of institutions. There is the government and there is the parliament. In every country which strives for the rule of law decisions are made precisely there, within these institutions.

The union has its representatives in parliament, but the Citizens' Parliamentary Club [OKP] is not a faction of the union. Only a proportion of OKP deputies have connections with the trade union. There is no direct dependence there.

Moreover, the setting up of the OKP and the appointment of the new government created new leadership centers for Polish opposition groups. Previously, the National Executive Commission was the sole center of this kind. Today there are several such centers. It is objectively a natural development that these centers strive for full autonomy, especially as the law guarantees them such autonomy. In this sense the role of Solidarity as a trade union becomes marginalized.

[Zalewski] Can anything be done to change this?

[Kaczynski] The National Commission wants the government, and also the OKP, to consult it more often. The planned permanent links in the form of regular meetings between the National Commission Presidium and the OKP Presidium have not been put into practice. Meetings with the government are also largely incidental.

However, generally speaking, the union finds itself in a position of constraint. It was the union which was instrumental in the creation of the present government, just as it earlier created the Citizens' Committees—that is, indirectly, the OKP itself.

It would not be a responsible policy to enter into open conflict with these centers with the situation in the country being what it is at present.

If we do not have an instrument of action in the form of open conflict, the presentation of opposing positions, and the use of appropriate methods of pressure, we are at the mercy of the goodwill of our partners. That is, until something breaks.

The present situation gives rise to fears and tensions among us.

[Zalewski] The relationship between the union and the Citizens' Committees is still the source of much debate...

[Kaczynski] Reservations about the Citizens' Committees are based mostly on political grounds and concern the question of the committees' function in the future.

I would like to state this clearly: In my opinion—and this opinion seems to be the prevailing one within Solidarity—Citizens' Committees represent a success on the part of our movement and the entire society. They constitute a form of public activity which is essential these days. The committees have great achievements in dynamizing people's attitudes and in assisting the citizens' society in taking its affairs into its own hands. They played an invaluable role in the elections, and I have no doubt that they will play a similar role in the approaching elections to self-government structures. These are indisputable facts.

It is an exaggeration to say that the Solidarity trade union stands in opposition to the Citizens' Committees. On the contrary, Solidarity is certainly in favor of Citizens' Committees.

However, here a question must be asked about the future. The question whether Citizens' Committees would not become a nucleus within which a new political movement could begin to take shape. Consequently, whether they would not provide a basis for a new, monolithic organization to emerge as soon as the public antiparty attitudes begin to fade away.

It is absurd to claim that they could generate a new PZPR. But can we be certain that a new political monopoly holder would not eventually emerge from them? If such a danger indeed exists, it would be better for Citizens' Committees not to use the name of Solidarity. This is because the name has a specific meaning and it must not lend itself to facilitating the realization of such a political conception.

In any case, in my opinion this conception goes against the views held by the majority of activists in Citizens' Committees.

[Zalewski] Why, then, does the real danger of a political monopoly situation arise at all?

[Kaczynski] In Poland we are carrying out our political transformations more efficiently than in Hungary, where dozens of parties have already emerged. By planning a takeover of self-government structures we reject the principle of election by proportional representation, and by the same token we guard against the possibility of other groups of extra-Solidarity opposition retaining their influence in the elections.

The adopted electoral principle is the majority system, with the 50-percent-of-the-votes-plus-one rule ensuring success for a candidate, and this system will give a 100-percent victory to Citizens' Committees.

This type of election dynamics could create conditions conducive to the emergence of a specific "superparty," albeit—let me stress this again—against the will of a large number of Citizens' Committee activists, who act in the best faith. Besides, this could only take place at some future time, not today.

If, on top of everything else, such a party were to wield the Solidarity banner, its position in society would be absolutely unassailable.

[Zalewski] Is this dangerous because any monopoly is dangerous?

[Kaczynski] Anyone who would want to set up such a party has to remember that another single party would then emerge, in response, on the other side. I would very much fear the potential nature of such a configuration.

[Zalewski] The committees however have already become part of the country's political landscape.

[Kaczynski] No democratic political life can be formed in Poland without the committees; they will certainly constitute its main basis, but apart from everything that unites us all (democratic state, genuine local self-government), are there no factors which divide us? I can see differences of this kind.

I see a difference which makes it possible to identify two competing groups which nonetheless complement each other. There is a group which approximates Western-style social democrats and a group which gravitates toward the centrist character, with a slight liberal flavor.

[Zalewski] Is this difference reflected in the arguments over the union's program?

[Kaczynski] If we are talking about the balance of power at a work enterprise, and if I say that we have to "fashion" an employer, that it is not really in the employees' interests for this distinction to be blurred, then this means I favor the second option.

Others would want above all else to have a system of share ownership; others still are worried by the fact that there may emerge a large group of private owners in Poland.

These are the true political differences.

Once we have finally bounced back from the economic "bottom," once we have the genuine conditions of a market economy, we can then realize a variety of programs, basing our respective concepts on different values. Equality is one thing; justice and freedom are something else.

These differences in political orientation should be submitted to the public verdict.

[Zalewski] How does all this affect the state of the union?

[Kaczynski] There is a disparity between the size of union membership and its influence. Today Solidarity has some 2 million members, but this does not mean that the influence of the union reaches only 10 percent of the work force. In fact, in most work enterprises the union is the largest force.

We could say that today there is a clear differentiation between the union and its customers. It is just as in the West: Significantly fewer people belong to the union than remain under its influence.

This situation also applies to those enterprises where the OPZZ is in the majority.

[Zalewski] Does this mean that the current organizational situation can be regarded as good?

[Kaczynski] The situation is not all that good and there are many reasons which contribute to this. The condition of the economy is not conducive to union activity. There is the fundamental problem of identifying the target of our action.

Public apathy, the roots of which reach all the way back to martial law, also contributes to the fact that the union is developing more slowly than it could.

There is a lack of a fundamental platform, such as the one which consolidated the union in September and October 1980; the union cannot pursue its classic business of making claims.

Nor are we today a mass organization that organizes and involves the entire society in a struggle against totalitarian power.

Because of all these factors Solidarity is not a big, numerically strong union today.

[Zalewski] When will the union be needed again?

[Kaczynski] It is needed today. In the conditions of a fall in the real level of incomes, when the taxation system is geared to the task of overcoming inflation, when extremely severe pay restrictions have been brought in, the union cannot back away from its fundamental role, which is the defense of employees' interests.

On the other hand, in a situation of economic growth there is always the question of the principles of distribution. There are suggestions that the Balcerowicz program could be to the advantage of a significant—albeit minor—social group. The rest faces permanent pauperization. The union should and can oppose such processes.

Nevertheless, today it is hard to find an area of activity which could be viewed as both attractive and tempting.

[Zalewski] What about the plans for an employee share ownership scheme?

[Kaczynski] Share ownership is an interesting social experiment: It can involve 100 enterprises on a national scale, or perhaps even 200, but it cannot be a dominant rule, with other solutions regarded as mere exceptions Why? Because we would then be setting up a certain new social utopian system which has not been proved effective anywhere in the world.

It is my belief that the conflict between the employee's and the employer's social role—especially in large work enterprises—will probably be resolved more often to the employee's advantage. Higher earnings will be deemed more reliable than a potential share in the profits.

This is not a rule from which there can be no exceptions. Given a stable work force which preserves strong self-management traditions, such an experiment could indeed succeed. Experiments of this kind can universalize ownership and reduce the division into rulers and ruled.

The union should definitely be involved in promoting and modeling its own employers and have an interest in the existence of the category of at least quasi-employers in Poland, even within the state-controlled sector of the economy.

[Zalewski] Can the union promote and control employers? This appears a rather exotic concept.

[Kaczynski] It would be enough to employ the managerial staff of a given enterprise on the contract principle, whereby their pay would be tied to the enterprise's profits. Of course, this presupposes guarantees that would preclude the rapid financial draining of an enterprise and the subsequent flight of the manager—for instance, following the stripping of the enterprise's fixed assets.

[Zalewski] Where would we find those managers?

[Kaczynski] There is a group of potential managers at present employed in the private sector—which produces 10 percent of the national income. This group should be interested in assuming managerial posts in state-controlled industry. But if we are to make this attractive for them, we must give them at least quasi-owner status. We must provide them with opportunities to share in the profits which they are entitled to through their activity in joint ventures or private enterprises.

Until we have done all this we will not reach what I regard as the optimum situation from both the employee and trade union viewpoints.

[Zalewski] Could you define such a situation more precisely?

[Kaczynski] I would describe it as a balanced configuration of social forces in the enterprise. In other words, a balance between the employer and employee positions.

On the one hand we have the employer, who identifies his role with that of "playing the stakes for the highest profit," and on the other the employees, who are interested in the work itself, its conditions and terms of remuneration. If these two are well balanced, the outcome could mean good economic results.

There are other options proposed within the union, and these could be described as participatory schemes: The employee share ownership option and the—now somewhat eclipsed—self-management option (without offering employees ownership rights).

[Zalewski] The option you advocate would tie the employee to his work enterprise.

[Kaczynski] It would be suicidal to propose a different option today. Employees' economic situation must be closely tied in with the situation of their enterprise.

We should strive to create and train a new group of employers: a new, wide-ranging middle class. At the moment such groups are only in embryonic form in Poland. There are no social forces which could implement the market economy reform in Poland if employees do not themselves become involved in the campaign; in other words, if they are not sufficiently interested in it.

The employee should also be interested in working in a good and sound organized enterprise, where there is a close connection between his work and his earnings.

[Zalewski] How can this be achieved?

[Kaczynski] By preparing the ground for specialized negotiations. Slightly different from those which are the dominant type in the West.

[Zalewski] In our country, pay negotiations should be conducted and signed at individual enterprise level. Of course, this does not apply to the budget-financed sector.

[Kaczynski] What about collective wage agreements?

[Kaczynski] A collective wage agreement should regulate remuneration in a way which would make it possible to introduce concessions in employees' favor, but not through the principle of a minimum wage.

Of course, this must be based on what is known in the West as the principle of responsible negotiations. This principle can be regulated by the law, but first and foremost it is controlled by economic principles. The penalty for overstepping the limits of sound economic calculation must be bankruptcy.

This model leaves the trade union wide scope for action. The union represents the employees—that is, a considerable social force—and such representation is vitally necessary.

[Zalewski] Do you mean to say that restoration of the economy, free market, and capitalism will provide the essential opportunities for the restoration of the union?

[Kaczynski] The capitalism which is at present entering the Polish arena is an uncivilized form of capitalism. We come across increasingly frequent cases of the refusal to register a trade union in an enterprise, although this is actually an infringement of the existing law. Private enterprise owners ignore this law. There have been cases where foreign investors who intend to bring their capital into joint-venture enterprises dictate the "no trade unions" condition, although in their native countries, even in their parent companies, trade unions exist and are legally guaranteed. The union notes an ever-widening area for expansion here that will continue to grow.

But if the reform is to create more civilized social relations and well-balanced configuration of social

forces, the existence of trade unions is essential. This is why the prospects which are opening up now do not look too bad for Solidarity.

Council of Europe Opens Office in Warsaw

AU1903163890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Mar 90 p 3

['Z.L.'-signed report: "A Council of Europe Representation in Warsaw"]

[Text] The first Council of Europe Information and Documentation Center in Eastern Europe opened in Warsaw on 14 March.

Dr. Francois Saint Quen, the director, said that the Center will collect and publish in Poland documents pertaining to the Council of Europe, especially those dealing with local government and decentralization. This material will be translated and widely distributed as the need arises. For the time being, the work of the center will be financed by the canton of Geneva.

"We want to share our experience with the reemerging Polish democracy, and make your path to a united Europe easier," said Francois Saint Quen. "The role of the Center will be subordinated to what is now happening in Poland, that is why we are concerned about concrete guarantees from persons and institutions interested in the expansion of local government."

Mrs. Catherine Laloumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe, sent a message expressing hope that the Center's work would encourage an expansion of local democracy in Poland and a strenghening of ties between the Council of Europe and Poland.

Minister Jerzy Regulski, who attended the opening, told RZECZPOSPOLITA: "Our expectations vis-a-vis the Information and Documentation Center are specific. We want tried and tested European solutions, already in use in Poland, to act as inspiration for the work of local government activists belonging to the 2,500 future Polish districts [gminy]. We are also counting on reports by experts which will make it easier for the Office of the Council of Ministers to undertake various enterprises, and to set up more intensive contacts between the lowest-level bodies, in other words cities and districts."

Government Forms New Law, Order Committee

AU0903092290 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

[Report by Danuta Frey: "The New 'Kiszczak Committee'"]

[Text] We have happily retained one more product of a past era: The Council of Ministers Committee for Law Observance, Public Order, and Social Discipline.

The lengthy name concealed an institution that was established by the Council of Ministers in 1983 with a view to "improving coordination between the organs of state administration as well as cooperation between state institutions and social organizations in order to create appropriate conditions for respecting the law, ensuring public discipline and order, and, in particular, for greater consistency in combating economic and other crimes and other social ills."

So, the objective appears to have been highly estimable. However, what we remember about the committee above all is that it functioned as a kind of "super ministry," which was created to "instill discipline" in society by the use of tougher measures, especially with regard to the opposition, and by means of various kinds of highly publicized campaigns, as well as a kind of "disabling" of the militia, the prosecution service, and the Ministry of Justice. Although the nominal head of the committee was General Czeslaw Kiszczak, it was actually run by General Lucjan Czubinski, the former vice internal affairs minister and former prosecutor general, who was known for his hardline views. That the committee was also the source of various "creative" initiatives and supportive actions—the notorious May laws being just one example—also requires no comment. The committee also initiated and applauded an endless succession of spectacular operations such as "Property," "Bazaar," "Order," and "Calm Tracks," whereby the militia was to solve social and economic problems instead of simply combating crime.

Today, now that all that remains of the committee and its vice ministers are memories, it would appear appropriate to hope that there will be no return to those experiences and practices.

This reminder comes at a particularly appropriate time, as a Council of Ministers Coordinating Committee for Law Observance is to hold its inaugural session in a few days' time.

The committee was established by Council of Ministers resolution 130 of 25 September 1989, and the resolution is now being implemented. It can be assumed that this was prompted by the need to tackle the increasingly higher incidence of crime, and to improve the operation of various institutions. In any case, that is how the Council of Ministers described the committee's tasks in the resolution. The tasks were described as: analyzing and assessing the state of law observance; identifying the extent and rate of increase in wrongdoing; the initiation of activities designed to effectively combat crime; the formulation of proposals pertaining to the legal education of society; and the coordination of tasks with the governments' program for combating crime.

The resolution clearly states that the committee is to be a Council of Ministers advisory organ. Provision was also made for those involved in it being representative of a broad spectrum. Those involved include Aleksander Bentkowski, minister of justice, and Adam Strzembosz, vice minister of justice (both are to serve as deputy chairmen); Andrzej Drawicz, head of the Radio and

Television Committee; and Henryk Samsonowicz, minister of national education. Invitations to attend committee meetings are to be extended to representatives of the Supreme Chamber of Control, the Supreme Court, the Supreme Administrative Court, and the Main Lawyers' Council.

The personnel composition of the committee and the fundamentally different sociopolitical conditions under which it will operate should ensure that the institution will not be a continuation of or, even less so, a copy of its predecessor.

However, one cannot ignore the fact that the very Council of Ministers resolution that establishes the committee simultaneously annuls the 1983 Council of Ministers resolution on the Council of Ministers Committee for Law Observance, Public Order, and Social Discipline. This can be interpreted in a variety of ways.

In terms of personnel, according to the resolution the chairman of the new committee—this is understandable—is to be the vice premier and internal affairs minister, Czeslaw Kiszczak. The committee will be run by its deputy chairman, Gen. Zbigniew Pudysz, undersecretary of state in the ministry of internal affairs. Many people will surely ask themselves how the new "Kiszczak Committee" differs from the old "Kiszczak Committee," as it was known in the past. Is there not a danger that committee members will be treated solely as a form of window-dressing? Some committee members have already expressed such fears. Is it not the case that doubts will be expressed about the sense of establishing yet another body without a fixed, clearly defined character and role?

The first meeting of the new committee is to take place shortly. Four working groups are to be set up with responsibility for: analyzing and assessing the extent of law observance and improving the law; the prevention of wrongdoing and informing citizens about the law; strengthening public order and safety; and the protection of the national economy.

However, that answers should be given to the following fundamental questions at this first meeting would appear to be more important than any other issue: What should the committee actually be? How should it perform its role? How should it realize it goals and tasks, and what practical actions should it take?

Internal Affairs Ministry Spokesman on Interpol

AU1303104790 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 9 Mar 90 p 3

["Reply" to TRYBUNA by Lieutenant-Colonel Wojciech Garstka, Internal Affairs Ministry Press Spokesman]

[Text] In connection with a question from TRYBUNA addressed to Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak about Poland not joining Interpol, I hereby reply as follows.

Poland was a member of Interpol until 1939. The membership was never renewed after the war. The "iron curtain" and long years of isolation from the West made contacts like this impossible. However, we have been steadily overcoming these barriers in recent years; for example we have established contacts with the FRG and Swedish police. After all, "international" crime has appeared.

On 31 May 1919, General Kiszczak petitioned Premier M.F. Rakowski to grant his approval for Poland's membership in Interpol. Having received favorable reports from the Foreign Ministry and finance minister, Premier Rakowski granted his approval on 16 June 1989. However, he asked that Poland join Interpol not earlier than 1990, on account of the "unplanned expenditures and limited payment possibilities this year" (he meant the dollar membership fee).

On 7 February 1990, Minister Kiszczak signed an application, addressed to Interpol Secretary General R.E. Kendall, for Poland to join this organization, informing Premier T. Mazowiecki, Deputy Premier L. Balcerowicz, and Foreign Minister K. Skubiszewski of this.

On 13 February 1990, H. Jaroszek, undersecretary of state in the Foreign Ministry, informed C. Kiszczak that he had asked the Polish ambassador in Paris to convey the above mentioned application to its addressee (Paris became the headquarters of Interpol after the war).

Thus, the application will soon find itself in the drawer of the Interpol chief's desk. Let us hope it will not stay there long. It looks as if the new Police, and not the Citizens' Militia, will commence permanent working contacts with Interpol. That, however, is a problem for politicians and journalists, and makes no difference whatsoever to criminals and their victims.

My best greetings to TRYBUNA and its readers.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wojciech Garstka, press spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs; Warsaw, 8 March 1990

PSL 'Odrodzenie' Outlines Economic Program

LD1403044590 Warsaw PAP in English 1849 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 13—In its correctional economic program, the PSL "Odrodzenie" Polish Peasant Party deems as urgent the establishment of mineral procurement prices for basic farming produce guaranteeing profitability for farms operating under average conditions, the introduction of low-interest credits, the implementation of the concept of regionalization of agrarian policy and backing the export of agro-food articles.

The party speaks in favour of setting up an agency of agrarian market, increasing subsidies for biological and technical progress in agriculture and the use of appropriate tax breaks for farms.

Addressing a press conference today, Kazimierz Olesiak, the PSL "Odrodzenie" president stated that the party was forced to issue such a program by the current situation which shows that the pursuance of the government program, along with positive effects such as curbing inflation, also breeds negative trends, particularly in agriculture.

"In our view, corrections should be introduced immediately to the government program in force because recession leads to stagnation which is difficult to overcome," Olesiak stated.

Paper Notes Surplus in Trade Balance Figures

AU1603141090 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 14 Mar 90 p 2

[Alina Bialkowska report: "Foreign Trade in January and February—A Window on the World"]

[Text] At the end of February 1990, Poland's foreign trade balance showed a surplus in relation to both payments areas. Due to the significantly stronger export performance, and after only two months into 1990, export trade figures are approaching last year's results. Imports have also increased, but they are still much lower than they were a year ago.

Exports

The continuing low level of production has not had any adverse impact on export performance, and because of the continuing stable exchange rates of the dollar and the ruble, the reduction in export profit margins (an effect of the increase in the costs of production, namely, inflation), had no significant effect on export figures. The reduced demand at home, showed itself to be a far more important factor for producers who were forced to seek export outlets for their production.

The volume of trade with the first, ruble, payment area increased by 111.1 percent (the most rapid increase was in trade with the USSR, which registered a 127.2 percent increase), compared with January 1990. There was a decrease in the export of wood and paper industry products, but this was compensated for by an increase in the volume of construction industry products, agriculture products, and fuels and energy.

In February, we exported 12.3 percent more to the countries of the second payment area, compared with February 1989 (compared with January 1990, the volume of trade increased by 124.2 percent). This large increase is mainly accounted for by an increased volume of agricultural exports. There is, however, one worrying aspect; namely, some enterprises have begun to lower the prices of their export goods in order to dispose of them as rapidly as possible.

Imports

Compared with January 1990, imports have also increased (by 48.9 percent from the ruble payments area, and by 58.1 percent from the dollar payments area). Nevertheless, imports are still 12.9 percent lower than they were in January and February 1989. There are many reasons for this, namely, depressed economic activity on the home front that is caused by the high cost of borrowing money, financial constraints that have been imposed on many enterprises, and generally reduced demand. In relation to the ruble payments area, additional contributory factors are the delayed deliveries by our partners and the outstanding commercial agreements with the USSR that still have to be finalized.

Balance of Trade

At the end of February, trade with both payments areas showed surplus balances. In trade with the hard currency area this produced a surplus of 237.7 million dollars (64 percent higher than a year ago). The trade surplus with the ruble payments area was 398.3 million rubles (2.5 times higher than it was in 1989). Some 73 percent of this surplus from the ruble payments area comes from trade with the USSR.

Mazowiecki Seeks Partial Reduction of Debt

LD1803073890 Warsaw PAP in English 2015 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaaw, March 17—Paris Club Chairman Jean Claude Trichet, now in Poland for a two-day visit, today was recieved by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. He also met Polish Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz to discuss Poland's cooperation with the Paris Club.

Well-informed sources report that Poland intends to apply for a reduction of some 50 percent of the 27 billion dollars of debt (guaranteed by governments of Western countries) owed to the Paris Club by Poland.

In the view of renowned American economist Jeffery Sachs, the problem of the Polish foreign debt owed to Western countries gathered in the Paris Club remains unsolved despite the recently signed agreement between Poland and the Club.

Sachs thinks that these states are aware of the need to reduce Poland's debt though negotiations on the matter will surely be long and difficult.

SDRP Supreme Council Discusses PZPR Assets

AU1803220190 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 12 Mar 90 p 3

[Report by Wojciech Rosiecki: "The PZPR's Assets: The Law and Politics"]

[Text] Long-winded. The expression, borrowed from many of the statements that were made, accurately describes the debate that the Supreme Council held on the subject of the assets that belonged to the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR].

Wieslaw Huszcza, treasurer of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP], delivered a report on the work of the SDRP commission for assets and its talks with the government commission. He said that the proposals that the Supreme Council had authorized him to submit to the government commission a week ago had been rejected by it. The government's position is set out in a joint communique carried by the press. It provides the basis for further negotiations.

Huszcza said: "The government side does not reject our legal arguments, but political arguments overshadow legal ones in the talks that we have been holding. The government is being subjected to pressure from various quarters on this question. This represents one of the obstacles in the talks. We will continue to adhere to our position—one that corresponds to the actual state of affairs—that our efforts to obtain part of the PZPR's assets is solely aimed at ensuring that we can engage in sociopolitical activity. These needs cannot be expressed in terms of square meters. This is why we expect the government to display more flexibility on specific issues.

Many Supreme Council members felt that the information was inadequate. A whole series of questions was asked. They concerned legal guarantees from the government for the solutions that could be negotiated, linking negotiations to talks on the future of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Worker's Cooperative Publishing House, and finally, the legal powers of the SDRP's negotiators. A discussion was held after the questions had been answered.

One of the speakers said: "If the constitution of the Polish Republic asserts that we are a state that is governed in accordance with the rule of law, then we should not make concessions to lawlessness." The statement reflected what was thought by a certain section of those present. It was echoed by other speakers, who maintained: "Our arguments and proposals are backed by law, and those are the limits within which concessions should remain." One speaker even proposed revoking the recent Supreme Council resolution on transferring the former PZPR Central Committee building to Warsaw University, as the university authorities revealed that they intend to use the building for commercial purposes....

However, the prevailing view drew attention to the political aspect of the issue, but without ignoring legal considerations. It was argued that "the question of the PZPR's assets has now been a burden on the new party for too long. It has to be settled once and for all, and then we have to move on." It was said that "there are many other more important reasons for attacking the government."

Summing up the discussion, Leszek Miller said: "What will we achieve if the talks end? Whose support can we count on? The issue that we have been discussing gives rise to propaganda that views the reclamation of PZPR property as an act of historical justice. This creates an unfavorable climate for rational solutions and is conducive to rows."

Miller suggested that the Supreme Council authorize the SDRP commission to continue negotiations and to extend their scope to take in the question of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers' Cooperative Publishing House.

He added: "It is essential that we accurately inform the public about the PZPR assets that have been transferred to society and what has happened to those assets. Society should also be provided with similar information about the assets of other parties that belonged to the old coalition."

Hungarian Minority Deplores Lack of Rights

LD1903124890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Regarding the anti-Hungarian demonstrations in Tirgu Mures and Satu Mare on 15 March, a statement by the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania says that most people in Romania believe that the revolution has ended with the clarification of their democratic rights. However, the minorities—that is the Hungarians—have been tragically forgotten. Otto Oltvanyi gives further details:

[Begin Oltvanyi recording] The statement by the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania points out that in Romania there are forces still in existence to which the revolution has granted the democratic rights of the majority, and these forces do not wish to progress beyond this. As for the minorities, and primarily the Hungarians, they dispute the validity of these democratic rights.

The statement therefore criticizes the interim National Unity Council and the government because they allowed chauvinistic, extreme, and nationalistic actions to spread. Thus, it asks the government to take measures to put an end to the provocations and, at the same time, to ensure the protection of minority rights. [end recording]

'Vatra Romaneasca,' Hungarians on Minority Issue

AU1903171990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1445 GMT 19 Mar 90

["Political Life—The Transylvanian Parallel"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/3/1990—Under the title "Two Dialogues for a Future Dialogue" the independent ROMANIA LIBERA of Saturday 17 March runs two interviews with authorized representatives of two public organizations—Mr. Radu Ceontea, provisional president of the Vatra Romaneasca Union (UVR), and Mr. Geza Domokos, president of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR), on the positions of their organizations in the open dispute between the Hungarian minority and Romanians in Transylvania.

UVR was formed in answer to the "surprise" creation of UDMR on Christmas days [as published] 1989 when no other political formation except the UDMR had its constituent documents ready, Mr. Radu Ceontea said. We felt we had to organize ourselves to stave off nostalgia of former Hungarian-minority rulers for hundreds of years, including from 1940-1945 and during the Hungarian autonomous region a Stalinian present of Dr. Petru Groza to the Hungarian minority. During the December revolution, in cities in Harghita County where not one bullet was fired, says R. Ceontea, Romanian commanders of military and security units were cruelly killed—beheaded, hanged, burnt. The management of enterprises and institutions is dismissed on ethnic reasons, and the Hungarian intellectuals demand the separation of schools at all levels, while taking a hostile position to the official language of the Romanian state.

Reminding that Reverend Laszlo Toekes said on Romanian television, in Hungarian, that the Romanian language was "a constraint for the minorities", the UVR president shows that everywhere in the world, in order to get a job, the first exam one has to pass is that in the official language of the respective state, "Here the demand is made to drop the Romanian language from the school-leaving examination of children of minorities. [no closing quotes as received]

Furthermore, UDMR, as representative of an "elite minority", even demands the creation of a Hungarian university with 24 faculties unlike anywhere in the world where conditions are similar to those in Romania. However, R. Ceontea accepts the idea that "as much as is economically efficient should be ensured" that is schooling for every child whose ethnic descent is not Romanian, but opposes the idea of Hungarian education that should train experts to serve the country's development, because it might be interpreted that such experts are trained not for this purpose, but for another state order, for another state, not Romania.

UVR is of the opinion that in the country's future parliament, the minorities should be represented as they are in Hungary "by one person only".

On a possible dialogue with UDMR, R. Ceontea makes it conditional on the recognition of UVR and its platform, of the extremists' mistakes during the revolution, the dropping of the claim to a Hungarian-language university, a breakaway from the crimes in Harghita and Covasna whose authors should be handed over to Romanian authorities. In Bucharest, he said, the idea is emerging that, through everything that the Hungarian minority did, it wanted to establish itself as "a Hungarian people in Romania" and to get "in a rush" rights that are specific of federal-status communities" [quotes as received] in Romania which is not a multinational state, but "a unitary-national state".

In his turn, Geza Domokos shows that the old dictatorial policy which pursued to denationalize the Hungarians mostly their schools after 1959 through the setting up of Romanian departments and the unification of the Bolyai and Babes Universities in Cluj [sentence as received]. But denationalization was unsuccessful because the Hungarians strongly opposed their forced assimilation. Admitting that both the Romanian school and the Hungarian school were harmed by the dictatorship, Geza Domokos says that the Hungarians only ask a return to the school structure that the dictatorship destroyed. But he thinks it is out of the question that in Romania the Romanian language should not be used, although he says knowledge of Romanian should be optional for everyone. Nevertheless he rejects the UVR idea on the

illegitimacy of a Hungarian university in Transylvania and asks that everybody be free to choose one's workplace.

In Transylvania, like throughout Romania, admits Mr. Domokos, there was a natural movement from village to town at the time of industrialization, but in that process force also played a part in the fulfilment of Ceausescu's dream about a purely national Romania.

The UDMR president affirms that "a Romanianization policy did exist" in Transylvania and that decentralization will strengthen the Hungarian character of that province. However, Mr. Domokos is of the opinion that historical traumas run far deeper, that the problem of the Romanian minority in counties with a majority Hungarian population in Covasna and Harghita will be very complicated due to unemployment which will inevitably assume national character. "I cannot accept the idea of ossification on ethnical principles" and I do not agree with a sanitary corridor around these counties, he says. For suspicions to be dispelled, he suggests an analysis of the changes in Transylvania possibly with the participation of foreign observers since 1918 and a revision of the entire history of Transylvania.

As for the dialogue with UVR, Mr. Domokos said it had suggested a meeting to compare the programmes of the two organizations and to hold an open unprejudiced discussion.

Romanian Transylvanians Launch Demonstration

AU1903201190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] From 0900 until well after midday today [19 March], the central area of Tirgu Mures Municipality was literally invaded by thousands of demonstrators—the majority of whom were of Romanian nationality—who protested against destabilizing elements and acts of separatism and chauvinism displayed by certain representatives of the population who are of Hungarian nationality. The demonstrators protested vehemently against their requests concerning the forced separation of some schools, high schools, and faculties in Tirgu Mures Municipality and other settlements in Mures County according to linguistic criteria, the defiling of some Romanian monuments, requests for separating certain cultural institutions, and other things.

The demonstrators insistently called for the demotion of certain members of the Provisional National Unity Council in Mures County. The demonstrators in Tirgu Mures expressed their wish to contribute to the strengthening of unity between the Romanian nation and all the national minorities, noting, however, that the rights granted to these minorities should not affect the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the country and should not lead to separatist actions and to an aversion for the language, culture, and the history of the Romanian people.

Likewise, a meeting of solidarity with the Romanian students and teaching staff at the Medical and Pharmacy Institute in Tirgu Mures took place today in the assembly hall of the Stefan cel Mare University in Suceava. Those who took the floor on this occasion called for an end to the strike by Hungarian students and teachers and called upon them to renounce the idea of separatism and to strengthen the unity of action between Romanians and Hungarians in order to ensure the normal flow of the educational process. The meeting was organized by the Free Trade Union of the Suceava students and the student's "Arboroasa" Cultural Society.

In Craiova, more than 300 students, the majority belonging to the medical school of the university in this municipality, took part in a protest march as a sign of solidarity with the Romanian students at the Medical and Pharmacy Institute in Tirgu Mures. They were carrying banners with slogans that read: "Romanian students in Tirgu Mures, the Craiova University is with you"; "The numbers from each nationality will be even"; "We do not want separatism"; "We treat sick people of any nationality"; "The official language is the Romanian language"; and "Separatism means chauvinism."

'Conflict' Ensues With Magyars

AU1903201390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1928 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/3/1990—The demonstration started on Monday morning [19 March] in Tirgu Mures in front of the Mures County Mayor's Office had an unexpected turn in the afternoon.

In the central part of the city, near the Court of Law Building, conflicts emerged between participants in the demonstration and groups of citizens of Magyar nationality, which led to uncontrolled actions resulting in damage caused at the local headquarters of political parties and the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania.

The city was quiet by night.

Report Lists 15 Injured

AU2003082690 Paris AFP in English 2301 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, March 19 (AFP)—Some 15 people were injured Monday after an attack by 1,000 Romanian nationalists on the offices of an ethnic Hungarian political party in the Romanian central city of Tirgu Mures, local hospital sources said.

The injuries occurred as police and army troops moved in to evacuate the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania party offices which had been besieged by the "anti-separatist" demonstrators, who had been bussed into the city.

The demonstrators belonging to the Vatra Romaneasca (Romanian cradle) association ransacked the party offices before the security forces moved in, the sources said.

The ROMPRES news agency said that rallies against ethnic Hungarians had also taken place in the central city of Cluj, in Suceava, to the north, and Craiova in the south.

The protest rallies, mainly at universities, were against a strike by Hungarian medical students at Tirgu Mures, pressing for their courses to be given only in Hungarian.

Tensions have traditionally run high between the two-million strong Hungarian community and ethnic Romanians in the country, which has a total population of 23 million.

Iliescu Calls for Calm

AU2003083790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] In a speech he made last night on television, Mr. Ion Iliescu considered it important to address the nation, particularly the inhabitants of Transylvania, in connection with some regrettable events that had taken place, particularly yesterday, in Tirgu Mures. These events occurred as a continuation of actions in various Transylvanian localities, which have created tension in the relations between the Romanian citizens and citizens of Hungarian nationality.

The Romanian citizens, expressing their position regarding some previous actions, resorted to regrettable actions, including the devastation of the headquarters of certain parties and the Hungarian Democratic Union in Tirgu Mures, causing material damage and injuring some people.

Mr. Ion Iliescu expressed his regret at such violent actions, which are all the more inopportune now when we are entering the period of the election campaign, a period that requires that all extremist actions be curbed that might lead to more actions that could disturb the peace and endanger the flow of economic, social, and political activity. Everything possible should therefore be done to halt such violent actions, which feed upon each other and which might lead to the escalation of events that could cause serious damage to our country.

In our own interest and in the interest of maintaining calm and stability in our country and of defending national interests, Mr. Ion Iliescu called on both Romanian citizens and citizens of Hungarian nationality to refrain from unleashing their feelings and impulses. He called upon them to find the necessary means for dialogue and mutual understanding, the only things that can ensure the democratic development of relations in which all citizens of the country will feel bound to the joint interest of our common homeland, with the conviction that these difficult times will be overcome and the necessary calm for the normal flow of our life will be ensured in our country. All actions of state, political, and civic authorities and of the citizens should be directed toward this goal.

We have been informed that last night Tirgu Mures was calm. In front of the Palace of Culture, hundreds of citizens were listening to the speakers broadcasting a show given, among others, by (name indistinct), Dumitru Farcas, and Leopoldina Balanuta.

Demonstration Noted

LD2003110990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] A few minutes ago we received a report from Tirgu Mures from Levente Suetoes, a Hungarian staff member of the radio there.

[Begin Suetoes recording] Yesterday, the Vatra Romaneasca called a rally in the town's main square. We should mention that there was not an officially announced demonstration. At the beginning, 300-400 demonstrators demanded the resignation of county Deputy Chairman Eloed Kepes and Council for National Unity Chairman Karoly Kiraly. Mr. Kepes was forced to resign. On the main square, the demonstrators tore down every Hungarian sign and stormed the National Theater, demanding that the Hungarian section be abolished, but they did not manage to get into the building. All this took place in the presence of the Army and police, who were ordered to be present.

The demonstration was well-prepared and pogrom-like; this was confirmed by the fact that several hundred Romanian peasants, armed with pickaxes, pitchforks, and clubs, arrived from Hodak, Libanfalva, and Devabistra in the early afternoon, and they played a decisive role in smashing the headquarters of the Democratic Associations of Magyars. There was no aggressive behavior on the part of the Hungarian population.

In the town, Andras Suetoe's call is spreading, which stresses the need not for individual action but for organized and responsive steps to be taken by the Hungarians in Transylvania. There were no arrests. [end recording]

Magyar Workers Call Strike

LD2003095190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] In Tirgu Mures, the Magyar-nationality workers have called a general strike in protest against the pogrom yesterday, in which one person supposedly died. According to plans, the Magyar marchers are gathering right now in front of the local radio studio. Otto Oltvanyi has sent a roundup of the events of the past hours:

[Begin Oltvanyi recording] The night passed in relative calm in Tirgu Mures, where on 19 March, nationalist elements staged an anti-Magyar demonstration. In the course of this, they ransacked the Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania [DAMR] headquarters, beat

up defenseless people, and caused a public scandal by staging a brawl. At the instigation of the extremist organization Vatra Romaneasca, the demonstrators broke and smashed everything they found in the DAMR headquarters.

One of those injured in the state of siege, which lasted for hours, was Andras Suetoe, the association's county chairman, who was maltreated by the demonstrators. Andras Suetoe had to be taken to the hospital. Two of his ribs were broken; apart from this, his left arm was put in a cast. One of his eyes was injured, and his eyelid was stitched together in the hospital's eye department. The noted Magyar writer spent the night in the hospital, where Dr. Zsuzsza (Kiszer), the duty doctor, said that his condition is grave. For this reason he is still in intensive care. Eleven injured were taken to the hospital, of whom two have been detained for treatment.

In connection with the Tirgu Mures unrest, Ion Iliescu, Provisional National Unity Council chairman, addressed a television speech in the evening to the country's people, and the inhabitants of Transylvania. He stated: Regrettable events have occurred in Tirgu Mures, and everything must be done in order to resolve the situation that has developed, since tension does not serve the interests of either the Roamnians or the Magyars. He expressed his regret that the local forces were unable to curb the extremist elements. [end recording]

Tensions Continue in Tirgu Mures

AU2003120290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Despite Ion Iliescu's appeal for calm and reason, Tirgu Mures Municipality continues to be the scene of separatist and chauvinist demonstrations.

This morning several thousand citizens of Hungarian descent gathered in downtown Tirgu Mures to demonstrate peacefully. They requested the country's leadership to ensure all their rights called for in the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania program-platform.

The participants are chanting the names of some political figures and leaders of the Hungarians in Transylvania. They are also demanding the dismantling of Vatra Romaneasca Union and the urgent presence in Tirgu Mures of Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council.

Protesters Make Demands

LD2003123190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Report by Bucharest correspondent Otto Oltvanyi]

[Text] Andras Suto was taken by a military plane from Tirgu Mures [Marosvasarhely] to Bucharest so that he could be transferred from there for further treatment to Budapest. The condition of the well-known Hungarian writer continues to be serious because as a result of the beatings he also suffered damage to his skull.

In Tirgu Mures, at the scene of yesterday's pogrom, there are at present nearly 100,000 people. They are all Hungarians and Romanians who condemn Monday's [19 March] vandalism. The crowd is taking part in a rally where they are pronouncing some demands. One of the demands is that Ion Iliescu, Temporary Council for Unity chairman, and Karoly Kiraly, deputy chairman, should immediately fly to Tirgu Mures. The crowd will not disperse from the main square until their demands are met. Elod Kepes, who yesterday was brutally forced to resign from his office, was returned to his elected post.

The crowd is loudly demanding a return to teaching in their Hungarian mother tongue and the fulfillment of the rights of minorities. If their specific demands are not met, then they are calling a general strike in Tirgu Mures and in Maros County.

Condemning the Monday action and pogrom organized by the Vatra Romanaesca, the national presidency of the Federation of Magyars this morning made a statement demanding the dissolution of the Vatra Romanaesca and asking for the organizers of the pogrom to be made legally responsible.

Otherwise, said the statement addressed to the government, in their judgment the countrty will fall into a devastating civil war, and with this, will suffer immeasurable damage to itself, will distance itself from the joint European line of development, and will be cut off from the civilized world.

Kiraly Calls for Calm

AU2003160490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] At 1520, during a telephone conversation with a correspondent of our program, Mr. Kiraly Karoly, Provisional National Unity Council vice president, asked the inhabitants of Mures Municipality and of the localities in Mures County, Romanians and Hungarians, at this difficult time to show restraint and responsibility and not to allow themselves to be maneuvered and manipulated by various provocative elements.

These elements, moved by feelings of nationalist, chauvinistic, and careerist feeling want to sow hatred among the population on nationality criteria. Mr. Karoly Kiraly called warmly on all reasonable and responsible Romanians and Hungarians to work unitedly and jointly in order to halt the feelings and sentiments excited artificially and take measures to defend the goods, economic objectives, institutions, and their headquarters, as well as the civilian population against any provocation, to contribute with joint forces to creating an apropriate atmosphere for a civilized dialogue of mutual respect and fraternal unity in socioeconomic activity, which is meant to instate a truly democratic order and facilitate the normal course of economic activity and political life.

Japanese Aid in Various Economic Areas Noted

AU1603194190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1507 GMT 16 Mar 90

["Romania in the World—Japan Wants To Assist Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/3/1990—In an interview for the daily "ADEVARUL", the Japanese ambassador in Bucharest, Katsuhiro Ichioka, stresses that the 22 December 1989 revolution of Romania evinced the Romanians' tremendous courage, their capacity of sacrifice, highly praised by the Japanese people and all peoples of the world. He mentions that Japan's solidarity with Romania showed in many ways: the recognition of the new provisional government, the emergency aid through the Red Cross worth one million dollars, the sending of a team of Japanese physicians with surgery equipment, books for the Central University Library of Bucharest. We are aware, he added, that the Romanian people has still a lot to do. Japan wants to assist Romania giving priority to medium- and long-term demands. Under an understanding with the member countries of the "G 24" forum which gathers the main developed countries of the world, Japan is ready to support Romania too after the elections, once political stability is secured. We are aware of the economic advantages of the cooperation with Romania: Your country has a considerable skilled workforce, Romania has no foreign debts, the farm potential is valuable and can fast redress the food situation, it has also power resources, mostly oil, that do not exist in Japan. Hence, relying on mutual respect and advantage, the cooperative links between Japan and Romania can develop greatly.

We expect the Romanian Government resulted from the elections to single out the priorities and we are ready to negotiate specific forms of collaboration in all fields of mutual interest. Until the elections, in this provisional period, numerous repesentatives of the Japanese and Romanian companies have established direct contacts, interest being shown in iron-and-steel, petrochemistry, aluminium, extension of port facilities, the car industry, electronics, computers, etc. Considering Romania's rich traditions and possibilities, Japan is willing to promote various forms of cooperation in culture, arts, filmmaking, Romania will be invited to the film festival for Eastern European countries in Tokyo, tourism, sports, press, radio and television, etc.

Deputy Economy Minister on Decentralization

AU1603194590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1756 GMT 16 Mar 90

["The Economy—Agriculture and Decentralization"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/3/1990—Planning remains an objective necessity in Romanian agriculture, said Mr. Marin Capisizu, deputy minister of the national economy. The giving of arable terrains of hayfields, vineyards and orchards, he said, entails structural mutations. According to estimations, roughly one third of the arable area will be either privately owned or asigned to private farmers. In this sector, there can be no planning as cultures will be selected by producers according to their own consumption requirements and sales on the free market. In the case of cooperative farms, however, planning should be set on free option, at the same time, an orientation of both structure and production level is needed in line with the demands of the national economy and with a view to pushing to the profits of those units up to the highest ceiling. In the case of state-run agriculture guiding indicators should be set as this sector plays an important role in the supply of the market from the state stock and of units where farm produce are processed.

A major desideratum of the current stage, the deputy of the minister national economy also said, is decentralization. Free initiative, the show of collective and individual interests will lead to the growth of market relations, as an expression of the operation of the demand-and-offer ratio through value levers.

PNUC's Manzatu Meets Brazil President, Others

AU1703182990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1638 GMT 17 Mar 90

["Official News: Special Romanian Mission in Brazil"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Brasilia, ROMPRES/ 17/3/1990—The inauguration ceremony of the new president of the Federative Republic of Brazil, Fernando Alfonso Collor de Mello, whereto heads of state and government and personalities of the international political and cultural life were invited, was also attended by a special Romanian mission led by Professor Ion Manzatu, vice-president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], personal representative of the council's president.

The PNUC vice-president handed over a message to the new president of Brazil from Mr Ion Iliescu.

On that occasion, President Collor de Mello expressed his empathy with the deep-going democratic transformations in Romania as well as the readiness of the Federative Republic of Brazil to intensify relations with Romania for which he nurtures special feelings. He expressed his conviction that the new leadership of Romania and the one after elections would cope with the difficulties the country is confronted with, especially with those related to spiritual rebirth and the national economy, and that the Romanian people would soon win again the place it deserves among the democratic and civilized nations of the world.

During his stay in Brazil, Mr Ion Manzatu conducted talks with Paes de Andrade, president of the chamber of deputies, Francisco Rezek, minister of foreign affairs, Ozires Silva, minister of infrastructure, J. Goldenberg, secretary for science and technology, with whom he

tackled in the main about the prospects of bilateral economic and technological cooperation. The collocutors assessed that the new democratic course taken by Romania enabled an open and sincere approach to bilateral ties not only on the basis of affinity of language and culture but also on that of the two peoples' common ideals.

The head of the special Romanian mission also had talks with Mario Soares, president of the Portuguese Republic, Dan Quayle, U.S. vice-president, Borislav Jovic, vice-president of the SFRY Collective Presidency, Felipe Gonzalez, Spanish prime minister, Giulio Andreotti, Italian prime minister, Geoffrey Howe, deputy prime minister of Great Britain, who also attended the ceremony in Brazil. During the talks aspects were approached related to the political and economic developments in Romania and the prospects for a stepped-up collaboration between this country and the respective states.

The collocutors were appreciative of the open and pragmatic way of holding discussions, wishing the provisional leadership of Romania and the Romanian people full success in surmounting the current economic and social difficulties and in firmly advancing toward democracy.

New Transylvanian Romanians' Party Formed

AU1903204290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1835 GMT 19 Mar 90

["The Parties Introduce Themselves—Transylvanian Romanians' National Unity Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/3/1990—The Translyvanian Romanians' National Unity Party—the 57th political grouping of Romania—stems from the centuries-old traditions of the Romanian people in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area, the cradle of the civilization and Christianity of the Romanian nation. It relies on the vocation of universality and humanism of the Romanians, on the tolerance that has characterized them throughout their historical evolution. The party also espouses the generous and humanitarian ideas of the universal declaration of human rights, in the spirit of the Final Act of the all-European conference in Helsinki.

A political organization that represents the interests of the Romanian population in Transylvania, the party grounds its entire policy on the observance of the country's independence, sovereignty and integrity. Setting from the fundamental consideration that Romania is a unitary and indivisible national state, the party considers as adequate Romania's present territorial organization, and opposes any claims regarding the setting up of administrative- territorial enclaves on arbirary criteria.

The party militates for the peaceful coexistence of the Romanian people with the national minorities, for national reconciliation and is against any shows of chauvinism, racism, separatism, territorial autonomy which it considers as running counter to democracy, peaceful coexistence and stability, order and a normal economic and social life.

The Transylvanian Romanians' National Unity Party is against all the totalitarian conceptions, militates for political pluralism, for a constitutional republic with a bicameral parliament.

As for the economy, the party is for the coexistence, with equal rights, of the state, group and private property, and for a market economy.

On an external plane, the Transylvanian Romanians' National Unity Party will promote, inter alia, relations of good understanding and reciprocity with the neighbour states, the expansion and strengthening of cooperative ties with all the states of the world, an active and sincere cooperation at the United Nations.

Suceava County Miners Go on Strike

AU2003121090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 20 Mar 90

[Text] Our correspondent for Suceava County, George Damian, has informed us that a strike has begun at the Lesu Ursului mine within the Gura Humorului mining combine. The strikers are demanding the dismantling of the combine as an intermediate structure, reduction of [word indisdinct] personnel, and the replacement of Director Mircea Dobre, who is heading the combine headquartered in Gura Humorului.

The discussions that took place between the representatives of the trade union and the administration council yielded no agreement by the time the strike broke out.

The dismantling of the combine falls within the relevant ministry's purview. In order to conduct discussions on this subject and in conjunction with the other demands of the striking miners, a representative of the management of the Ministry of Mines, Director Stefan Galafat, who is in charge of the mining sector, has left for Lesu Ursului mine.

* 'Suicide' of Ceausescu Judge Questioned

90EB0343A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Marius Georgescu article: "Death of General Popa-...Suicide?"]

[Text] We were stunned to hear of the death of Major General Gica Popa. I never saw him. Quite frankly, up to that moment I didn't know that he had been the court president, the man who pronounced the death sentence on Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu. It immediately came back to me, that unmistakable, grave voice we all heard on the night of the bloodiest Christmas in Romania.

Maj. Gen. Gica Popa was found shot in an office at the Justice Ministry. Murder or suicide? The question was becoming an obsession. On Friday at noon, together with my colleague at the newspaper, Mihai Popescu Stoienesti, we went out to look for a grain of truth that could shed light on it. It was only late that evening that we got to talk with the first close relatives of the victim.

Teohare Popa, worker at the Aversa enterprise and brother of Gen. Gica Popa: "The last time I saw him was during the Revolution. We just talked for a few minutes. A few days later I recognized his voice at the trial. I tried to talk to him on the phone, at home or at the court. I couldn't. I don't know why, but I couldn't sleep. I wanted to see him. One minute even would have been enough. It was impossible. There was no one at his home, neither his wife nor his daughter. At the courthouse, everyone was putting me off from one day to another. About 23 January I went again to the courthouse. There I met Colonel Nitoiu. I told him I was the brother of Gen. Popa: 'You won't find him here,' he said. 'Go to the Justice Ministry and look for General Pruna.' He, of course, didn't talk to me. He sent word that my brother was not there at the moment. I learned of his death on Friday morning. My brother Napoleon told me on the phone; on 1 March he had gone to their house to bring a March 1st charm to my sister-in-law and niece. He waited for them for two hours in front of the apartment house. As soon as he saw they had been crying, he knew something terrible had happened. The eldest of our nine brother, Uncle Nicu, as we called him, had died. He immediately called me at the factory. I don't know why, but I had a feeling that this is how it would end. He was very correct all his life. Although he was a judge, he was very kind. Not to mention humble. He liked to go to his native commune, Ileana, the village of Artari. I never saw him out of sorts. He was a balanced man who loved justice and always advised us, his younger brothers, to respect it faithfully."

Paula Vaetis, sister, employee at the Industrial Central for Electronics and Computer Technology: "The first message I got was from my brother Napoleon. Nicu had died of a cerebral stroke at the hospital. I tried to get hold of my sister-in-law. It was already 1000 when I managed to talk to her. She said my brother had shot himself and had left a letter for us. Only around 1300 did I managed to get to their home. There were a lot of people there. Among them was Colonel Voinea from the Military Court. He was a good friend of my brother's. He was shattered, his face was swollen from crying. He said he would have taken care of the funeral arrangements but Gen. Pruna wouldn't allow him to. I waited a few hours at their home until they brought him from the hospital. My brother had to be given a traditional, Christian burial. In the afternoon a civilian driver came and told us that he was going to be taken on Saturday morning straight to the chapel, and that the funeral would take place the same day at 1330. That's what had been decided...."

Sorela Popa, Gen. Popa's daughter: "It was 1 March. I went to pick up mother from work. Around 1600 Major Ursu and the chief guard at the Regional Court House, Razvan Vilcu, came over. 'Gen. Pruna sent me to bring you to the courthouse.' We didn't suspect anything. In the street there were two cars. I went in one with Razvan, and mother in the other with Maj. Ursu. At the court I saw Col. Voinea, father's best friend. He came out of the office crying. A few minutes later General Nistor came and told us that father was very ill and that anything could happen. We learned the truth only the next day. Gen. Pruna told us. That's when we found out that father had left a letter and an envelope with money for us. The last time I saw father was Friday morning. In the past two months I had seen very little of him. He told us not to stay at home. I felt that he was afraid. We stayed at our grandparents for about two weeks. He had become very apathetic. General Militaru had promised him that by 25 January he would be appointed to work abroad. He didn't feel safe anywhere. Not at home, not at the court. On Tuesday evening we spoke for the last time, on the phone. I could hear the sadness in his voice. "I'm going to see a video movie with Gen. Nistor," he said, almost whispering. On Thursday I have an interview with the justice minister, and I hope everything will be solved. Those were his last words. He was very much alone. Parhaps the loneliness fed his fear. He felt that he had been abandoned. The last weeks of his life he lived in terror and in fear for my mother and myself. Today (Friday 2 March) we received several phone calls at home. Friends and relatives rang up. A communique had been broadcast on the radio, signed by Gen. Pruna, the head of the Military Judicial Branch of the Justice Ministry. The explanations concerning father's suicide included, aside from mental illness, family problems. That was too much. I picked up the phone and called up Gen. Pruna. How do you dare claim that my father was mentally unbalanced? And the so-called family problems are an infamous lie. We had the best family life, and I won't allow you to besmirch it. You sent him to try Ceausescu, right? You sent a mentally unbalanced man to do the job? I couldn't go on talking, so I put the phone down. It was beyond any imagining. My father, Gen. Popa, was an exceptional man and father, for whom we, the family, will never have anything to reproach."

Lieutenant Colonel Cariolan Voinea, judge at the Regional Military Court: "Gen. Popa was my best friend. We knew each other since 1973. Gen. Popa was my direct superior. I am indignant. The communique issued by the justice minister at a news conference, and what Mr. Teofil Popa said, that depression due to quarrels with close relatives led Gen. Popa to take his life, are conscious attempts to distort the truth. I don't understand what reasons there could have been to sacrifice the memory of a man. There was no suicide. Gen. Popa was a posthumous victim of Ceausescu and of the indifference of those responsible, who should have ensured his protection and fulfilled his request to get his family out of harm's way. All that, combined with certain abuses and illegal procedures within the military

justice system had made him mistrustful and indignant. Recently, Gen. Popa was no longer being consulted about important decisions concerning military justice and the important tasks that emerged after the Revolution, especially [when his views would be valuable] from the viewpoint of his historic mission of trying the two dictators. On 25 January we were both in the office at the Military Court. Gen. Pruna, a colonel at the time, head of the Military Judicial Service, had left. He kept in touch with us by phone. A call came from General Stefanescu, head of the Judicial Office of the National Defense Ministry. I was right next to the phone and could hear everything. I remember it very well. Gen. Popa was holding the earpiece at a distance, so I could hear, too: 'Colonel, Minister Militaru ordered that you form a trial panel and get in touch with the lawyers' collegium. We need two attorneys. We'll be sending an armored car to you. Be ready for a trial.' He put the phone down and said to me: 'The trial is beginning. I'll take Nistor. You stay in court and stand by.' A few minutes later, a military driver appeared at the office. 'A car is waiting for you downstairs.' He left. About 20 minutes later the armored car arrived. I thought they had been kidnapped by terrorists. The driver didn't want to leave, he had orders to pick up Gen. Popa. I called the Ministry of National Defense. The Aro car had not made it to the ministry, but to the Steaua Club stadium, where a helicopter was waiting. The trial panel returned to the court in the evening, I think it must have been 1900-2000. Gen. Popa was the first to enter the office. I was sitting on a couch with the light off. When I stood up and he saw me, he almost collapsed on me: 'Voinea, it's all over.' I was sure he had been gone to try a terrorist, sentenced him to death, and had been in on the execution. The hell with the terrorist, I said. They have so many innocent people on their conscience. 'No, Voinea, it's all over with the two. They are no more.' And he began to cry with his head on my shoulder. 'My child, why did I bring her into the world? What will happen to Sorela, my daughter.' His fear was understandable. There was heavy fighting in Bucharest. When they came to Tirgoviste, the military unit where the trial was held was under attack. I also learned there that in the helicopter that had left in haste for the trial of the Ceausescus there had also been General Victor Stanculescu and First Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican Voiculescu. I tried to encourage him. Gica, my friend, there's no reason for you to be afraid. You conducted a historic act of justice. Calm yourself, you will be protected. In the meantime, court stenographer Jan Tanase came in. They embraced and cried. Then came in Attorney Lucescu, Col. Nistor, the entire trial panel, except for Attorney Nichi Teodorescu, who had been wounded. That night we all left in a car. We couldn't stay at the court. We were afraid. The whole building had only four soldiers on guard. The next morning we met at the court. Yes, after the 26th we didn't leave the building any more for one week, neither I nor Gen. Popa. One day passed, two, three... No one asked anything about him. Gen. Popa was showing signs of worry and fear. I felt the need to talk to someone, to explain the state in which my friend and superior was. I put on civilian clothes and went to the ministry. I talked with the head of the Secretariat Directorate of the Ministry of National Defense. I told him I was there on behalf of Gen. Popa, who had tried the Ceausescus. It was unacceptable that no one cared about him. I explained about the mood he was in. An urgent solution had to be found. First of all, he had to be given protection. Once, when the two of us were talking, Gen. Popa said he thought of going to the American Embassy to request protection. I advised against it. The whole affair will cause a great stir. The Ministry of National Defense must ensure your safety. I must confess that in my heart, I thought his intention was justified. If no measures were taken after all to ensure his safety and that of his family, then he was entitled to do it. Perhaps I was wrong. But let's go back to that day at the Ministry of National Defense. I forgot something very important. In the office where I was, I was told on the phone that Minister Militaru was aware of the situation. 'Let him take his family somewhere, and on Monday we'll put him up at the Haiducul Hotel, on Drumul Taberei.' That was all. It was an order. I went back to the court and reported the result of my visit to the ministry. That night we talked for a few hours, just the two of us. 'Cornele [as published], you are my good friend. I have no secrets from you. I am in a desperate situation. Tell me what to do. I'm thinking of Sorela and of my wife. What will they do?' Remain calm, I said. They don't know how to best protect their own skin. The city was full of rumors, and some came to the ears of Gen. Popa. It was said that one of the lawyers had been shot, and one judge had a black cross painted on his door. 'There are fanatics who are shooting,' he said. People who believe that with Ceausescu, they had lost everything. The rumors were mounting from one day to the next. Then there was the one about Gen. Tanase, kidnapped and taken by car to Otopeni and forced to tell those who had sat on the trial that 'We'll take care of all of them.' In the meantime, at the Haiducul Hotel, Gen. Popa and Gen. Nistor were working on explaining the death sentence passed on the two tyrants. Gen. Popa was becoming increasingly apathetic. One day he said to me: 'I have thought of asking to leave the country. On the condition that I can take my family along.' I promised to help. Unfortunately, I didn't manage to reach the right contacts. Once General Teofil Pop took over the ministry, my friend was promised every assistance. Contact was made with Mr. Gelu Voican Voiculescu, too. But it was only talk, nothing was done. In the meantime, the minister of national defense was replaced. No one talked with Gen. Victor Stanculescu any more. I didn't like the way he looked. I didn't understand what was happening to him. Two months had gone by since the trial. Gen. Popa was systematically removed from the event and the cause, while, objectively, the effect should have been diminishing. The fear would not leave him. Whatever people's interests, however harsh and difficult the political relations in the country, you're not affected. Everyone is happy to be rid of Ceausescu. Everyone who knows you, praises you! There is nothing to be afraid of. Why should they shoot you? You rid the country of two

monsters. You enforced the law at a time of historic change. You carried out an act of lofty patriotic conscience. 'What do you know, you're not in my shoes. All of you are breathing at ease, are calm. Only I cannot rejoice.' We were ordered to carry arms, Macarov revolvers. Gen. Popa received one, too, but the weapon did not contribute to reassuring him. Aside from his permanent fear, he was unhappy about the abuses and illegalities committed within the military justice system. People who had run away together with Maria Bobu were now with us. What did Gen. Pruna know about what had occurred at the court during the Revolution, when he didn't budge from his home. Then there were a good number of promotions, on which he was not consulted. He could not accept and endure this lack of consideration. In my opinion, the only solution that would have pulled him up was to reintegrate him in the work, consult him in all court matters. On Tuesday I promised I would go to see Iliescu and explain the situation to him. The visit was scheduled for Friday. I meant to ask him to talk to Mr. Celac for a job abroad. Around 1400-1500 I went into his office. He was sitting in his armchair, alone, and tears were streaming down his cheeks. We'll take care of it. You must calm down. Your fear is not justified, there is no objective reason for it. We talked about the future. He decided to go to Teofil Pop, the justice minister, on Thursday to discuss his problem again and repeat his request to go abroad. Which he did. On Thursday he went to the Justice Ministry. He got in touch with Gen. Pruna. The latter offered to report his requests to the justice minister, who was busy with an official Hungarian delegation.

"Word of Gen. Gica Popa's death came to me at court. Shortly thereafter, Gen. Pruna came, together with the head of the Bucharest Military Prosecutor's Office. The latter pulled out of his pocket a note that had been found in the deceased's jacket, which said: 'A letter and money for the family are in the file box at the court. Please have them handed to the family immediately. I am not reproaching anyone for anything. I forgive everyone. (Editor's note: We feel dutybound to make one correction, although it is true that it does not concern us. The following correction should be made to pragraph three of the text of the letter reproduced in ADEVARUL: Instead of "I am not reproaching anyone for anything, I forget everyone," it should read "I forgive everyone." Gen. Popa's letter constitutes a legacy of faith and must be respected to the letter, without any interpretations or corrections). I view the death of Gen. Gica Popa as an accident, the causes of which will be determined when the investigation is finished. His desperate act was a process between the man and the realities confronting him. At the same time, this tragedy should sound the alarm for our judiciary bodies, which are obligated to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the situations prevailing in military justice, proceeding from the reality that the Romanian judiciary system has lost a man of great professional value and high ethical and moral conviction. The loss is irreparable. All honest members of the military judiciary system, and all those who knew and appreciated him, pay him a last and respectful homage."

* 'Radical Changes' in Police Work Alleged

90EB0332A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Major General Octavian Pop, deputy chief of the General Police Inspectorate, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Radical Change in Concept of Police Work"]

[Text] [ROMANIA LIBERA] General, do you have a sense of humor?
[Pop] As much as the next man, despite what people say about Transylvanians. Otherwise I couldn't have lasted so long psychologically.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Are there any microphones in this office?
[Pop] No. There has been an official announcement about this, and I believe it.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Nevertheless, a group of writers requested that all the addresses of the former centers specializing in "curiosity" and "acoustic sensitivity" be made public.
[Pop] I don't know them either.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Whatever may come of it, I feel honored to come back to the Interior Ministry "Golden Records Library" for a frank discussion with a police general, rather than with... What made you come back to the new General Police Inspectorate, and what are you doing to restore the citizens' faith in the present police cadres?
[Pop] First I would like to introduce myself. It is only natural that I should go into autobiographical data, and I think that all those who held responsible positions in the Interior Ministry are obligated to do the same. At the age of 14 I escaped from northern Transylvania to Brasov, where I worked as an unskilled laborer at the Aircraft Plant; for two years I apprenticed as a wood worker, then for another two years I was enrolled in a vocational school in Cluj. After that I went to an Interior Ministry officers school in Oradea, and was appointed deputy [chief] at the 23d Precinct in Bucharest. I also attended a special militia school in Moscow, after which, in 1959 I was appointed deputy chief of the Guards and Order Directorate of the General Inspectorate. As such, I worked with the Penal Investigations Directorate; I headed the Cluj Regional Militia, then was brought back to Bucharest in 1964. In 1968 I was appointed deputy head of the General Militia Inspectorate, where I remained until 1986. I am a graduate of the Law School and I did post-graduate work in criminology. My superiors were Generals Stelian Staicu, Nicolae State, Jean Moldoveanu, and Constantin Nuta, and currently I am once again under Brig. Gen. Jean Moldoveanu. In 1986 there was a hiatus in my service because Gen. Nuta didn't like me. Until 1988 I was employed at the Interior

Ministry when, because I could not adapt to a management style that included insults, abuse, and violence, I was retired by Postelnicu and pensioned off. On 8 January 1990 I was recalled. I had been removed by Gen. Nuta for 'lack of authoritarianism, social-democratic character, and unacceptable lenience toward underlings.' All my police colleagues who knew me at the time can testify to that. I have emphasized these points not as self-advertising, but as the sad reality we all lived. A recent cartoon was equating the militia and the police. Formally, the author was right, and I was amused. But it has to be understood that an institution like the police cannot change overnight and therefore, we ask citizens to show understanding. Working concepts are already being changed, and we will take every step to achieve radical changes. Our first concern is to ensure that the entire police personnel do not favor any political group, regardless of color, but that they faithfully serve the interests of the people, of the justice and democracy of which we dreamt. Of course, there were cadres who compromised our dignity, who did not show understanding for the citizens, but now we are making efforts to ensure that policemen, from the lowest to the highest grade, behave correctly and politely in enforcing and interpreting the law. We do have special problems, especially in the crime area: There are many robberies, rapes, black marketeering, burglaries, pickpocketing and without the help of the citizenry we will not be able to fully and quickly fulfill our duties in preempting and combating such crimes. We have taken measures against and have removed compromised cadres who acted against the people's interests before, during, or even after the revolution. This operation is not yet finished, but all those guilty will be made to account for their deeds.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] What is the reason for the citizenry's reserve—to say the least—toward the police?

[Pop] Personally, I see no reserve toward the police from citizens or state organizations. We are called upon a lot to intervene to preserve or restore public order and a climate of civic safety, and to enforce and protect the laws of social coexistence that are required in freedom and according to which we should guide all the citizens, including the police apparatus. I want to stress that a policeman must first and foremost be a model of these norms, so that he can have and preserve his own moral authority. I do not think that the police were compromised as an institution. We have the trust of the people and of state bodies, and many of our cadres struggled shoulder to shoulder with the students, workers, intellectuals, and Army for the revolution, for freedom, and for genuine democracy. Naturally, we had some people whose behavior compromised the honor of the uniform. There is no room in the police for such people; a policeman must be honest, dignified, frank, and charitable, while at the same time being firm. Complete trust cannot be established through laws and decrees, but through determined work day and night. We are on duty and we believe in human love. Our function is to ensure people's peace at home, in the street, in the means of transportation, everywhere throughout the country.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Can we trust and be certain that all the ammunition and weapons that securitate [lower case as published] members, activists, and private individuals had, at home, too, have been collected by the Army? According to certain reports and rumors, it seems that many such dangerous tools of crime are still missing.

[Pop] The weapons found at securitate units and their depots were collected by the Army. It is still not known exactly how many weapons are still in the hands of individuals, but we are now checking into it. So far, police bodies recovered close to 500 firearms, from machineguns to revolvers, as well as large quantities of bullets. In view of the danger presented by firearms in the possession of unauthorized persons, we are doing everything possible to uncover them. These weapons are a public threat to citizens. Consequently, once again I want to appeal to all the citizens to help us identify such persons.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Can you tell me how files used to be transferred from the domain of politics to common law?

[Pop] Personally, I believe that such things did happen, but because I haven't been in the police for four years, I cannot give you specific examples. But I do know that in many cases our penal bodies were forbidden to investigate very serious crimes because the suspects belonged to the 'nomenklatura;' thus, the law was enforced according to political beliefs and to one's position in the defunct party.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] According to you, it means that the securitate department used the militia to handle its most compromising actions. Can you give us examples of such actions?

[Pop] In many cases our uniform or status were used as a cover by the securitate, something that in fact greatly harmed our institution. Investigating individuals, checking up on them at home or at work, searches, and other skillfull frame-ups were not among our duties.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Excuses and carrying out orders without judgment or discrimination were not accepted as attenuating circumstances at the Nuremberg trials; so how do those who used their uniform to commit abuses, arbitrary actions, manipulations, and distortions of the reality, justify that?

[Pop] Those who abused either their position or their uniform have no excuse. They must account for their deeds and suffer the consequences.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] The 1981 "revolution" in Salistea de Sus (Maramures county) could have been the spark of an extensive uprising. But it wasn't. Since you had to go there, what methods did you use to distort the political background of the uprising, thus keeping the securitate and the prosecutor's office at a distance?

[Pop] By describing it as a mere administrative, local rebellion. At the time, the unrest in Salistea was not attributed to politics. It was like a fire smouldering throughout the commune. That is when people's dissatisfaction and their exploitation by the administrative

system of the time came to the surface. It cannot be wrong to assert that the Salistea rebellion was the explosion of 7,000 people against the dictatorial Communist regime. The local and central securitate were searching for the 'instigators' among the region's intellectuals. The heads of the county police of the time can verify my claim with specific examples.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Allow me to thank you for your kindness and frankness. If I don't come back to you, General, it will mean that our daily life is returning to normal.

* Role of Macri in Timisoara Events Outlined

90EB0343B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

[Article by Emil Munteanu and Ion Medoia]

[Text] We figured it would be a difficult trial, but we didn't realize just how difficult. After three hours of court questioning, General Emil Macri (who had been questioned separately, that is to say, in the absence of the other codefendants) had cast us into a lugubrious atmosphere. He nonchalantly talked about facts and actions on which the indictment was "silent." The file has records of his own declarations, but he contradicts some of his earlier statements. The court is actively doing its part, but the whole thing seems to be a cat and mouse game, and the latter is surprisingly skillful. It evades every trap, squeezes through dangerous questions, and escapes every contact with the painful reality of the bloody days of the revolution in Timisoara. If one didn't know better and was accidentally parachuted into the courtroom, one could easily believe that the defendant was in fact a hero of the revolution...

Yes, an enemy of the ceausescu [lower case as published] regime, which he consciously undermined. A sort of agent of the unhappy masses discretely planted on the State Security Department! Let's be serious, Mr. Former General. The chief of a counterintelligence department getting paid for nothing? That sounds like embezzlement. Nevertheless: "We were ineffective and helpless here, in Timisoara." How can he say such a thing? If we believe the defendant's statements, then his very presence in Timisoara was accidental. Vlad Iulian sent him because he was the first to come into the unit.

Once at his destination, together with 15 "aides," he toured the city, then withdrew into the office of the securitate [lower case as published] chief, and sent his underlings to do their duties. Each with his specialty: following suspects, tapping phone calls, opening letters, collecting information from economic units, infiltrating the demonstrators, and, naturally, reporting on people. All in the line of duty and nothing more. Carried out without any zeal. Something that attracted many scoldings from the center, i.e., from Vlad, who allegedly even said: "Macri, you let me down. You're not giving me the information I expect."

Theater Coups Staged by Macri

On Sunday around 1630, four generals called on Macri: Gusa, Stanculescu, Chitac, and one whose name he couldn't recall. What an honor! Unless it was by mistake, as the four were in fact looking for Coman. "Maybe he's at the party," the host offered, "but be careful where you go because there are demonstrations." "We'll come out with the tanks and squash them, General Gusa replied nervously." Then, on the phone, shouting at an underling: "Why didn't you go out in tanks to pulverize them feom the turrets? Get live ammunition right away and fire if you are attacked." Gen. Victor Stanculescu said: "Units from other garrisons (Ineu, Lipova, etc.) were ordered to come help in Timisoara."

What is the purpose of these confessions? The defendant told us himself: He and all the other securitate officers had nothing to do with the Timisoara massacre! "On the night of 17-18 December the city was put under siege by the Army, which fired all kinds of weapons. I think there were 60 dead and more than 200 wounded." So this is what was to be demonstrated. The good guys, namely the securitate, were not armed on the 17th of December, and they took refuge inside the unit in order not to bother the demonstrators. You won't believe this, but even General Nuta went to bed at midnight and slept like a log until morning! And a last, "valuable" statement by the defendant: "The next day, with Coman, in the presence of Gen. Stanculescu, Nuta exclaimed satisfied: 'The boys did their job. Chitac got good results with the gas brought in from Sibiu.'"

Did the People of Timisoara Commit Suicide?

We will recap the initial statements of the defendant. The securitate did not open fire. The militia didn't open fire. And as far as we know, the Army didn't open fire. So who pulled the trigger? Who? Later, Macri admitted that the only ones who had weapons were the militia men. But he didn't know whether they fired or not. A supposition: "Perhaps the securitate troops or the border guards." So far everything was contradictory. The only certainty are the dead. What does the defendant know about them? Almost nothing. Since the deputy prosecutor general of Romania and the deputy minister of justice were in Timisoara, he was not responsible for anything. In a way, that's logical, and as long as we don't have other statements, we cannot afford...suppositions!

The former General Macri has an answer for everything. Even if his answers are of the following type: "I didn't know," "I don't know," "I didn't hear," "I didn't see." Weak, very weak his counterintelligence! Let's see some of the things he did know. He had heard of the reformed priest on...Radio Free Europe. About the 700-800 people arrested on 16 December he heard from others, and he openly declared his dissatisfaction with such abuses, because they had been picked up helterskelter, so they were not interesting from his viewpoint. His underlings were doing the questioning, and 19 year old children were no good to him.

*** Stanculescu on Former Securitate Cadres**

90EB0329B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 21 Feb 90 pp 1, 5

[Statements attributed to Brigadier General Victor Stanculescu; place and date not given: "On Behalf of Brigadier General Victor Stanculescu, Minister of National Defense: Answers to Questions Asked by ROMANIA LIBERA of 9 February 1990 Concerning the Former Securitate Bodies"]

[Text] "Under Decree No. 4, issued shortly after the victory of the popular Revolution of 22 December 1989, the securitate bodies were placed under the command of the Ministry of National Defense.

"Later, under Decree No. 33 of 30 December 1989, the State Security Department and all its central and regional units were dismantled.

"After a comprehensive process of analysis, the Ministry of National Defense established that a good number of the operational troops of the former state securitate [lower case as published] had been compromised [from the point of view of] the people and the Revolution by having been implicated in unconditionally serving the ceausescu [lower case as published] dictatorship, its clique, and their interests. Moreover, they were compromised even in relation to those security cadres who, as of the first moments of the struggle for freedom and democracy, joined the struggle, either fighting against the terrorists, or contributing to guard duty, defense, and other actions at the side of the revolutionary forces.

"In view of the antirevolutionary actions performed out of fanaticism by certain securitate officers such as being involved in reprisals and directly or indirectly contributing to acts of repression recorded during the popular revolution, the leadership cadres of the former State Security Department—including Brig. Gen. Iulian Vlad, Maj. Gen. Geanu Bucurescu, Lt. Gen. Aristotel Stamatoiu, Lt. Gen. Gheorghe Vasile, Maj. Gen. Marin Neagoe, Maj. Gen. Ioan Mot, Maj. Gen. Emil Macri, and all the other heads and deputies of directorates—have been retired, and some of them have been arrested.

"Similarly, certain units were dismantled and their troops were retired, such as the Fifth Guards and Order Directorate (437 cadres), and the Fourth Military Counterintelligence Directorate (1,073 cadres), of which 611 cadres were retired. Those found guilty of crimes are under arrest and are being investigated by the Military Prosecutor's Office.

"Also retired were 1,844 security cadres of Bucharest and of Timis, Sibiu, Brasov, and Cluj Counties; the only employees kept on are the technical personnel required to man national telephone connections. Another 1,739 cadres from other counties were also retired.

"Most of the ledership cadres of the former Security Department, certain chiefs and deputy chiefs of central directorates and county securitate units, as well as other high ranking officers, who issued illegal orders or contributed to the suppression of the revolution are under penal investigation by the military prosecution or under arrest; military courts will be empowered to try and severely punish them, in keeping with their actions and guilt. The prosecutor's office continues to search for and question those guilty.

"The troops that served only to guard certain important installations throughout the country, made up of conscripts and regular troops, will continue fulfilling such missions.

"It is to be noted that the process of clarification of activities and possible trials, continues.

"In view of the principle established after the December Revolution on separation of power in our state, we must put complete faith in the prosecutor's bodies and the courts to investigate and try those of the securitate apparatus found guilty.

"The listening devices used by the former securitate have been dismantled as early as 22 December, by cutting connecting cables to the telephone central (this was reported in the press).

"Operational teams of the Ministry of National Defense have been installed at all the transmission posts of the former Interior Ministry and State Security Department; they have taken over all the equipment, sealing and putting under guard all the cameras and listening devices and centers found. The former interception and listening points located at Nos. 6, 7, 8, and 14 on 13 December Street, the Romanian Optical Enterprise, the 23 August Plants, the Bucharest Heavy Machinery Enterprise, and the Bucharest Garments and Knitwear Enterprise, as well as intermediary photography points in all the telephone exchanges of Bucharest, may be visited by television and press reporters, who are already doing so.

"The buildings and institutions taken over will be used to improve the national telecommunications system, and the special monitoring installations are being destroyed.

"The Ministry of National Defense assures the public that neither are there now, nor will there be any interception and tapping of telephone calls.

"Certain organizations which, like in any other modern state, are designed to watch over the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of the country, and to take measures against any activities aimed at fostering economic and social instability or at interfering with the process of democratic development in Romania, are now being institutionalized; they will not serve any political party or group.

"In these new institutions, the leadership positions are and will be filled only by Romanian Army officers who in acts and deeds proved their loyalty to the country, the people, and the Revolution, who do not belong to any party or political group, and who have the training,

qualities, and talent to guarantee competence and professional and moral honesty. In the future, cadres devoted to the country will be selected and trained to staff all these structures.

"The Ministry of National Defense guarantees that at present, no citizen, regardless of his nationality, political affiliation, or religious faith, and no party, political or civic organization, institution, or enterprise are under observation by any of the cadres staffing the new Army organization."

* Gen Macri's Testimony on Timisoara Events

90EB0329A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 4 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Dragomir Horomnea article]

[Text] The first conclusions after the court questioning of the main defendant in the current trial in Timisoara, former General Emil Macri, are that we're being hoodwinked. There is no disputing that the man responsible for counterintelligence at the former relevant State Security Department is a past master in the art of manipulating facts, at information overkill, and at skillfully dancing around between denials and assertions clearly aimed at erasing his tracks among the mire in which he found himself. We can compare his style to the "Postelnicu style," although Macri is far more subtle, knowledgeable, and "stylized" in professional information. Put more simply, Macri is working to pass the buck, saying he is innocent of complicity in the crime of genocide.

Caught in a merry-go-round of disclaimers, the former counterintelligence chief of Romania is endeavoring to lend credibility to the idea that, quite on the contrary, his activities in Timisoara actually helped the Revolution! He also says that all the security officers stationed in the city acted in the same manner, together with him. According to statements made before the court, none of the men under his orders was involved in reprisals against the demonstrators, not to mention killing so many people of Timisoara.

Macri pointed his finger in several directions: at the Army, the Militia, the head of the State Security Department, the former local authorities, and higher RCP [Romanian Communist Party] bodies. What is certain so far is that the defendant Macri was at least implicated up to his neck in collecting information about what was happening in Timisoara and operatively relaying it to Bucharest. In so doing, he used the entire arsenal at his disposal—the vast network [of resources] existing in the economic and other institutions of Timisoara—to follow suspects, to conduct direct questioning, to intercept and tape telephone calls, to systematically and secretly open letters, and so forth. His main aides were codefendants Filip Teodorescu and Gabriel Anastasiu, as well as, of course, specialized security officers, who were also responsible for various enterprises in the city. "The mission for which I was sent to the area," claimed Macri doing his best imitation of an innocent lamb, "was to identify the instigators and organizers of the demonstrations around the home of Father Tokes Laszlo, as well as to identify destabilizing elements sent here from abroad, according to [instructions from] the higher ranking leadership." At the end of the questioning session, the information contained in the statements was so abundant and so contradictory, touching on so many persons and groups with so many accusations—from complicity to genocide to stealing bodies—that it needs to be presented in several installments.

This is how it went today: Who could have possibly fired on the demonstrators in Timisoara? The light will undoubtedly dawn as we go on, but in the meantime former Gen. Macri says that none of the security officers was guilty of such a thing. We will cite some of the dialogue between the defendant and the court president:

[Macri] They couldn't have fired, because they didn't even have live ammunition on them. They received ammunition only on Monday 18 December. Moreover, in the night of 17 to 18, when there was a lot of shooting in the city, with all kinds of infantry weapons, our cadres stayed at the inspectorate headquarters.

[President] So who did shoot? The Army? But the Army, too, claims that it had no live ammunition in the first days of the Revolution.

[Macri] I repeat, I don't know who shot.

[President] Nevertheless, you were responsible for gathering information... Can you at least advance some suppositions?

[Macri] No.

[President] Not even at the risk of being wrong? Who had ammunition at that time?

[Macri] As a supposition, meaning at the risk of being wrong, I will say that only the Militia and the border troops could have fired. They were the only ones who had live ammunition. I repeat, however, this is only a supposition. I have nothing to confirm it.

In fact, Timisoara is altogether still enveloped in huge suppositions. But the dead are real! The bodies cannot be contested. The Army, however, denies that it participated in the massacre. And as we see, the securitate didn't, either. The Militia also claims to be innocent, as do the border troops. So what should we be looking for, extraterrestrials?

Thus, the long-awaited answers may only come out sometime in the future. However unpleasant the truth, it must be revealed to the people! Moreover, it must be the whole truth! We are specifying this because of the refusal of the court to tackle certain, undoubtedly obscure, aspects of the events under discussion that seem to incorporate precisely part of the truth we are waiting for. At one point, one lawyer demanded answers concerning

a strictly secret operation, known as Radu the Handsome, which was to be carried out in Timisoara. "Rejected," the president said, "because the matter must not reach the public."

So far, all kinds of names were dropped and noted here, of people who in one way or another participated in the reprisals in Timisoara or knew about it. The names are numerous. Once again there was talk of Generals Stanculescu, Chitae, and Guse, as well as Deputy Prosecutor General Diaconescu, or Deputy Minister of Justice Bracaciu, who were all in Timisoara at some point, some to handle military situations, others to resolve in some way (or another) the problem of the close to 800 demonstrators under arrest. No doubt there will be further references to those people. We will continue to report. In the meantime in Timisoara, a timid winter brings down snowflakes under an anemic sun and lets them melt on the pavement. That is exactly what is happening in the courtroom, too.

* Foreign Press Note Ethnic Origins, Iron Guard

* TINERETUL LIBER Version

27000007A Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 23 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

[Constantin Sorescu article: "The Iron Guard in the Government?"]

[Excerpts] We read and we do not believe our eyes. The review MINIMUM, published by Al. Mirodan, includes in a recent issue (Year IV, No. 35, February 1990), an article written by Victor Mincu entitled "The Iron Guard in the Government?" "This is a question which many people are asking," the author begins. The reader might justifiably ask: Who and how many? Is it a question of a sabotage attempt? The author does not delay his response. Victor Mincu quotes from an "otherwise democratic newspaper" in New York, LUMEA LIBERA, an article written by "a certain" George Pietraru who moves the analysis of the activity of the democratic government in Romania from the sphere of abilities to the sphere of ethnic origin: "Offspring of old party cadres, foreign to the people, such as Petre Roman. Indeed, from among the 23 million citizens of the country, has no Romanian been found to head the revolutionary government?" After presenting this quote, Victor Mincu notes, justifiably, that "both the language and the mentality are characteristic of the Iron Guard." He informs his readers that Petre Roman is the son of Valter Roman, a Jew, and Hortensia Roman, of Spanish origin. We remember that Petre Roman, himself, discussed his ethnic origin many times, stating that he feels Romanian and acts like a Romanian, that he has modeled his personality in the Romanian spirit and that, as a high official, he represents this spirit faithfully. His actions eloquently illustrate the profoundly intellectual view.

Victor Mincu continues to respond to the question in the title with information which is characteristic of news bulletins: "Bucharest Radio-Television sent a special reporter to Spain to contact the massive Iron Guard group led by Horia Sima in the Iberian Peninsula. The first interview was with the writer Vintola Horia, one of the Iron Guard's most important representatives." Unfortunately, he does not say where he got this information. In the absence of the necessary explanation and in the spirit of the elementary principle of presumption of innocence, we are asking questions and we are asking Romanian Free Radio-Television to explain things immediately. In regard to Vintila Horia, we know that he is one of the most important writers among the Romanian exiles, but we do not know anything about his political views of the Iron Guard type (if such views can be termed "political). We believe that we express the sentiments of all readers of good faith when we await the necessary explanations from him.

The third piece of information provided by Victor Mincu is more puzzling. Mincu writes: "When asked whether fascist groups, in exile, would be able to participate in the Romanian elections, Liviu Petrina, one of the leaders of the National Peasant Christian Party, replied: "Yes, if we have a democracy, it should be for everybody." However, Victor Mincu does not tell his readers who asked Liviu Petrina this question, when, and on what occasion. We are advocates of strongly supported statements and we like to believe that Liviu Petrina will hasten to confirm or deny—he is the only one who knows the truth—the response which is attributed to him. On the other hand, if Victor Mincu has all the necessary information we have no doubts that he will publicize it, after the suspense which he has created. Until then, we can only speculate, recalling the history of 1937, when the National Peasants Party and the Iron Guard were in solidarity; we are not surprised that a party leader would be able to evade the decree-law which rules out the possibility of the participation of rightist groups in the political life of the country.

Perhaps to make up for the fragmentary nature of two of the three previous pieces of information, Victor Mincu compiles the fourth according to all the creditable rules of the press. First of all, he notes the publication of books which present such ideas and he identifies their principal character: "The book 'Guvernul de la Vienna' [The Government of Vienna] by Faust Bradescu, published in Madrid in 1989 (we repeat, 1989!) pleads, without circumvention, for the idea of the continuity of the Government of Vienna—organized by Iron Guard members under the patronage of Nazi Germany in 1944 after the events of 23 August—and a possible Iron Guard government in Romania in 1990." The reviewer reproduces the composition of the Government of Vienna and gives a "fragment" from the conclusion of the "work" of Faust Bradescu for the purpose of "offering the readers the main ideas of the Iron Guard movement today." No matter how broad they might be, these conclusions should also be known by readers in Romania: "The Government of Vienna has been and remains an incontestable reality of the Romanian presence in history, of

its exile, and of its obvious possibilities for political expression." [passage omitted]

"Only The Government of Vienna—through the intermediary of the Iron Guard movement—is the constitutional link to real legitimization. The Romanian National Government of Vienna remains the legitimate representative of the Romanian people, through the intermediary of the Iron Guard movement which was its framework for realization and action." These are the conclusions of the book "The Government of Vienna." Victor Mincu, who reproduces them in his article, lets the reader reach his own conclusion. Along with Mincu, his readers and our readers, we look at the title which we have borrowed from him and we tremble.

Postscript: To avert the suspicion that this article has been written with a certain ethnic solidarity, the author, Constantin Sorescu, explains that he is the son of Romanian peasants and that his maternal grandfather, a brilliant man, was assassinated after he, a National Peasant Party activist and mayor of one of the large communes of the country in the 1930's, took the initiative of distributing to the peasants large landlord estates in Romanati County.

* LIBERTATEA Version

27000007A Bucharest LIBERTATEA in Romanian 22 Feb 90 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Received by LIBERTATEA"; first two paragraphs are LIBERTATEA introduction]

[Text] Yesterday the editorial board received an article a portion of which we are publishing.

It appeared in the review MINIMUM, published in Israel and is a review of the book "Guvernul de la Viena" [The Vienna Government], published in Madrid last year.

'The Iron Guard in the Government'

This is a question which many people are asking.

In the otherwise democratic New York newspaper LUMEA LIBERA there was an unequivocal attack on Prime Minister Petre Roman (the son of Valter Roman, a Jew, and Hortensia Roman, of Spanish origin).

"Who are they?" a certain George Pietraru asks, speaking about the "outsiders" in the new government. "Offspring of old party cadres, foreign to the people, such as Petre Roman. Indeed, from among the 23 million citizens of the country has no Romanian been found to head the revolutionary government?" Both the language and the mentality are characteristic of the Iron Guard.

Bucharest Radio-Television—according to the MINIMUM article, sent a special reporter to Spain, to contact a massive Iron Guard group headed by Horia Sima located in the Iberian Peninsula. The first interview was with the writer Vintila Horia, one of the Iron Guard's most important representatives.

When questioned as to whether the "fascist groups" in exile would be able to participate in the elections in Romania—the authors state—Liviu Petrina, one of the leaders of the National Christian Peasant Party replied: "Yes, if we have a democracy, it should be for everyone."

Our investigation of the dangers which might threaten the revolution in Romania includes some interesting signs regarding the prospects for some shifts toward the "extreme right."

The Iron Guard in tomorrow's government in Bucharest?—the Israeli publication asks.

[Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian and Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian have not been observed to report the MINIMUM or LUMEA LIBERA articles]

* 'Alarming' Signs Iron Guard May Return

27000007B Bucharest LUMEA AZI in Romanian 1 Mar 90 p 8

[Dumitru Constantin article: "The Sleep of a Nation Produces Monsters"]

[Excerpts] No, our title does not contain a typographical error. [passage omitted]

It is a paraphrase of Goya who said that the "sleep of reason produces monsters." Indeed, I used this quote as a point of departure to arrive at the title which I will explain.

The title was dictated by a problem, one of the many which have arisen recently when our frail democracy has been confronted with predictable or unpredictable prospects and events. We know that the Romanian political agenda has many pressing problems of a general impact, among which we believe, political and, implicitly, economic stabilization occupies the principal place. The election law, after the adoption of the draft by the "miniparliament," must be presented for public discussion, so that the election campaign can begin on time and under good conditions—as a clear proof of the freedom of democracy and the democracy of freedom!

From this perspective, recent days have brought to our attention, and to the attention of all, the names of rightwing extremist organizations whose markedly political and completely harmful anti-human existence was thought to have ceased at the end of World War II. Of course, the fact that some members and even chiefs of the "Iron Guard" survived in exile was a warning signal of the possibility of resurrecting, on an individual level, the specific arsenal of the "Legion": vengeance, terrorism, seizure and control of goods or material assets, aggression, and threats. Recently, in several places in the country, there have been alarming signs of the possible

return of the "Iron Guard." First of all, we learned about the dissemination in Bucharest (!?) of the review NOUA DREAPTA [The New Right], published in the United States by a (former?) Iron Guard member named Burlacu, in which there is a far-fetched defense of the "Iron Guard and the Captain," using the ill-famed language which we believed was long gone. Even Radio Free Europe is anathematized because—it says in black and white—"agents of the regime in the country are grouped together there, along with vile Jews!" Commentaries and references to the sinister interwar period do not seem to be useless to us!

Later, in Bacau, colleagues from the newspaper DESTEPTAREA received some information written in a manner related to the sinister style of the threats and actions of those who brutally and profoundly attacked Romanian democracy and culture, murdering in cold blood I.G. Duca, Armand Calinescu, Nicolae Iorga, Virgil Madgearu—personalities of world stature!

And finally, in Oradea, the blind and condemnable fury of the rightwing extremists fell upon a synagogue, and, in Bucharest, threatening flyers signed by "black angels" have appeared.

Since serious things have occurred, the alarm should be sounded. It is true that a short inquiry was carried out on Friday by ROMPRES in the corridors of the "miniparliament."

Different personalities (Gheorghe Mesaros, Petre Roman, Liviu Tocariu, Gelu Voican-Coiculescu, Radu Filiopescu, Constantin Manescu, and Radu Campeanu) responded to questions. They "accept the possibility of the existence of fascist-type groups but reject the idea of the rebirth of the 'Iron Guard'."

Certainly, the serious dangers represented by any group arising from the "Legion" must not be ignored, especially since it is a matter of foreign involvements. The activities of right-wing extremist political groups and formations in a number of West European countries and in the United States are well known. Even if these groups are limited in their actions, they cause alarm and disturbances in the respective countries, both in the governments and among the masses. In addition, the recent neo-Nazi revival in the GDR and the revival of some Soviet and Hungarian extremist groups adds to these concerns. As the past has shown, ignoring or minimizing these things can have grave consequences. However, overemphasizing them would take attention away from the major problems which concern a people and a country at a given moment.

The vitality of democracy will never lie in political chaos or in what one might call totalitarian democracy—a concept which should be widely commented upon.

From such a viewpoint, if the time has come for Romania to experience a reawakening of dignity and freedom, let us not forget in the euphoria of the moment that the sleep of a nation produces monsters!

Editor's note: Undoubtedly, the phenomenon of rightwing extremism, as well as leftwing extremism, exceeds, in its acuity and complexity, the space available in this issue. It requires a more thorough analysis. We will do this as soon as possible.

Call for No Serbo-Croatian in Schools Opposed

AU1903132090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] The Slovene Government has opposed a demand made by a group of delegates in the republican assembly that lessons in Serbo-Croatian be stopped in primary schools. The republican government has told those who made the demand that it does not in the least share their view on the need to scrap lessons in Serbo-Croatian. The Slovene Executive Council (?will tell) the delegates that before any possible decision is made, it is necessary to thoroughly and exhaustively discuss this so that the present daily political attitudes do not prevail over the essential reasons whose aim is the development of general human values.

Slovene, Bosnian Parties Discuss Issues

LD1803111790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1542 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 March (TANJUG)—The trends and changes in all parts of the League of Communists [LC] reveal that a new League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] congress will be possible if those real changes are taken into account on a new programmatic and organizational basis. This was stressed in today's talks between delegations of the Slovene LC-Party of Democratic Reforms Central Committee Presidium and the Bosnia-Herecegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, headed by Ciril Ribicic and Nijaz Durakovic, respectively.

The two organizations' representatives agreed that the contents, pace, and intensity of the changes in society are so radical and vehement that they require completely new answers and call for new solutions, according to a communique from this meeting. In the course of an open democratic dialogue, all the relevant political questions were pointed out and so were the differences in their attitudes towards them, the statement adds. The future of the LCY, the federation, the problem of Kosovo, and the character and the role of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army were also discussed.

It is stressed that the Slovene LC-Party of Democratic Reforms finds prospects in Yugoslavia of its own choice, and that it is willing to actively participate in drawing up the basis and conditions for liaising with all left-wing forces, particularly with the transformed parts of the LCY.

According to the communique, the delegation of the Slovene LC also points out that in Slovenia there is an increasing number of those who believe that Slovenia can survive in Yugoslavia only with revised fundamentals and that the majority thinks that this relationship and crisis can only be resolved through the republic's confederal status. The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium explicitly advocated a modern democratic federation as a community of equal nations and nationalities.

Regardless of the fact that the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC and the Slovene LC- Party of Democratic Reforms have different views, it was nevertheless judged that there are enough mutually shared points that accord with the comprehensive democratization of society and the establishment of a modern political party that fights for the development of democratic socialism. It is a shared assessment that the efforts and electoral activities of all the LCY's parts should be given support irrespective of some individual misunderstandings and ideological and political disagreements, which are the objective realities of a controversial political scene, the communique concludes.

Slovene Greens Present Election Platform

AU1703202490 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Judging by party hysteria in Slovenia at this election time, we may say that we are convinced that party pluralism in itself, as if by a magic wand, will solve all the problems. Some people, such as those who are quite independent of the parties and their rigid political schemes, do not think in this way. These people include the so-called nonparty Citizens' Green List. At a meeting today, the list presented its platform and the candidates who will run in the elections with their election programs independent of the parties. Matija Hudovernik reports:

[Begin Hudovernik recording] It is erroneous to think that the party system in itself will ensure parliamentary democracy. In fact it will be only after the elections that one will be able to judge what actually happens, although many people are inclined to think that vulgar partisanship will completely block any kind of productive work by the future parliament.

Experience shows that parliamentary democracy is particularly efficient if it provides for and encourages deputies to band together in pursuit of their interests in solving various specific development problems, regardless of their party affiliation. Time will show whether we will succeed in this, but there is no doubt that the groups independent of the parties, which will run on their own in the elections, present at least a small opportunity for the new parliament to get over some childhood diseases right at the beginning without much pain, diseases that politically benighted partisanship may cause.

A Citizens' Green List is appearing in the spring elections with its candidates independent of the parties. It draws attention to the structure of the Slovene economy that is unfriendly to the environment and advocates an immediate renewal and improvement of the environment that is endangered and already affected. In contrast to the parties that intend to grasp ecological problems only when, and if, they win the elections, the Citizens' Green List proposes specific solutions for which it is struggling. It is convinced that the next parliament will not exceedingly favor the environment, and therefore it proposes an ecological body to be set alongside the parliament or above it, which would deal with specific

development and environmental problems by gathering, regardless of the party, all the deputies interested in solving these problems.

In addition, the Citizens' Green List is in favor of a referendum at which the people would decide, on the basis of arguments, whether they are in favor of closing the nuclear power station at Krsko. The question of how it should be closed is, of course, a matter exclusively for the experts. [end recording]

Slovene Delegation Visits Sarajevo

AU1603204590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] A Republic of Slovenia delegation visited Sarajevo this afternoon. The most prominent republican leaders had talks with their guests at the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly. Here is a report by Ljubomir Nikolic:

[Nikolic] The Slovene delegation included Presidency of Slovenia President Janez Stanovnik, Republican Assembly President Miran Potrc, and Republican Executive Council President Dusan Sinigoj. They were talking with Dr. Obrad Piljak, Zlatan Karavdic, and Marko Ceranic.

Bosnia-Hercegovina supports a strong, federal Yugoslavia without which there would be no Bosnia-Hercegovina, Republican Assembly President Zlatan Karavdic pointed out. He added that people in Bosnia-Hercegovina are concerned about the relations between Slovenia and Serbia, Slovenia's attitude toward the Kosovo problem, the Federal Fund for Undeveloped Regions, and attacks against the Yugoslav People's Army. Speaking about attacks against Bosnia-Hercegovina on the part of Tudjman, Draskovic, and others, Zlatan Karavdic said that they will be prevented by all possible means that the rule of law envisions.

Karavdic asked his guests to explain some events in Slovenia, and Republican Executive Council President Marko Ceranic spoke about the difficulties that the economy of Bosnia-Hercegovina is facing, particularly the illiquidity of the ferrous-metal processing industry, and the energy, transportation, and textile industries.

Presidency of Slovenia President Janez Stanovnik denied that Slovenes fail to understand the need for the existence of the Yugoslav People's Army. However, they are of the opinion that it must also be reformed in conformity with changes in society. Speaking about Kosovo, Stanovnik pointed out that he cannot see only terrorists and irredentists there and that, in his opinion, demographic expansion is the biggest problem in Kosovo. Weapons and truncheons should be used, but only when it is necessary, Stanovnik said, and he added that one should talk with the people, that is, open a dialogue. We are against holding a dialogue only with the people who do not have good intentions concerning Yugoslavia, Stanovnik said.

Miran Potrc spoke on the situation in Slovenia in more detail. The Slovene public demands the strengthening of the role of the republics and the weakening of federal power, Potrc said, and he added that Slovenia has become aware that a confederation is the most suitable setup for our country.

Although we have demanded talks with Serbian political organs several times, we have not gotten a reply, Miran Potrc said, and he pointed out that Slovenia has decided to take measures to protect its economy and has refused to give contributions to Kosovo. A Serbian blockade is still in force and nobody from Serbia has publicly told us that it has been lifted. This is no way to arrange our relations, Potrc pointed out.

According to him, the Slovene Assembly has dropped the word socialist from the name of its republic, because it is thought that there is no need for ideological symbols in the name of a state.

It was concluded that the Slovene Assembly will make no important decisions until the elections; everything will be left to the new assembly. One can only assume what the new assembly will be like, because all assessments and forecasts tell us that Communists and Socialists stand very little chance in elections in Slovenia.

Slovene Poll on Confederation, Parties

AU1803171790

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 15 March carries on pages 1 and 3 a 400-word report by Majda Vukelic entitled "Yugoslavia Should Be a Confederation" on an opinion poll carried out by DELO among a sample of 532 citizens of Slovenia. The composition of the sample and the date of the poll are not specified. Vukelic says: "With the poll today we are beginning to publish a series of investigations that we will present every week and that are intended, at the time of the election fever, to answer the question about the future political map of Slovenia."

The results of the poll, which are presented in three bar diagrams and a pie chart, are shown below. Figures are as published.

	Question 1: "What kind of Yugoslavia are you in favor of?"
For a confederation	51.9 percent
For an efficient federation	7.9
For a unitarian Yugoslavia	0
For secession	28
Don't know	12.2
	Question 2: "Do you trust more the parties of a republican nature or those of a Yugoslav nature?"
Republican parties	79 percent
Yugoslav parties	6
Neither	7

Don't care, don't know	8
	Question 3: "Which public workers are supported by the people, the reformists or the new ones?"
Reformists who have already essentially contributed to the reforms	50 percent
New people who promise changes	25.9
Some reformists and some new people	16.2
Don't know	7.9
	Question 4: "What is your political persuasion? (You need not be organized)"
Liberal	7.3 percent
Communist-reformist	5.3
Communist	5.6
Democrat	25.4
Socialist	6.8
Green	10.3
Undecided	31.4
Others	7.9

Slovene Democratic Alliance Presents Program

AU1803154890 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 15 Mar 90 p 3

[Marko Pecauer report: "Only Independent States May Enter a Confederation"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 14 Mar—The Slovene Democratic Alliance presented its candidates for the republican assembly chambers today. For the Sociopolitical Chamber, 77 candidates have been nominated in 14 electoral units; 22 delegates have been nominated within Demos for the Chamber of the Communes; and 17 candidates have been nominated for the Associated Labor Chamber. At the presentation today, they also talked about some program guidelines.

Dr. France Bucar stressed that all the parties are shaping their image in a general way, promising the voters a wish list for a desirable society. It is, therefore, understandable that there are no great differences among the programs. In contrast to others, the Slovene Democratic Alliance tries to create a situation in which the people themselves will be able to live in conformity with their wishes. Some challenges have appeared and the Slovene Democratic Alliance has prepared its answers to them.

Leading Slovene Democratic Alliance members who have drafted documents spoke about several problems, and Dimitrij Rupel presented a document on the foreign policy of a sovereign Slovenia, which is published in DELO today.

Janez Jansa presented a Demos document on the defense policy of Slovenia. "He who does not decide how his foreign currency earnings are to be used and what military uniform he will wear, is not sovereign," he said. Therefore, the opposition, in contrast to the others, has not rested, satisfied with the appeals that Slovene soldiers should return from Kosovo, but has drawn the conclusion: our own Slovene army. Jansa rejected the objections that the opposition wants in this way to militarize Slovenia.

Dr. Rajko Pirnat spoke about confederation. "The genie of the implementation of the self-determination of peoples has escaped from the bottle," he said. "The Slovenes must exploit this genie and these events, if we want to live in a sovereign state of the Slovene people." As he stressed, a confederation is neither an asymmetric nor a loose federation. A confederation is set up by treaty among sovereign states. Therefore, Slovenia must first become a truly sovereign state. Only then can it conclude a confederal treaty. As soon as possible after the elections, one should adopt a declaration of independence, which will proclaim that the federal Constitution and all the legal system are invalid in Slovenia. At the same time, one should take away from the federal organs their powers to carry out administrative tasks in Slovenia. After that, other peoples in Yugoslavia should be offered a confederal treaty if the citizens of Slovenia so choose at a referendum. The treaty should ensure the implementation of the basic demands of Slovene sovereignty, including our own monetary unit and our own armed forces, an independent legal system, and the administration in general.

Dr. Marko Kos presented the statement by the Slovene Democratic Alliance on bankruptcies and threatening unemployment. The terrific spasms shaking the Slovene industry are, in his opinion, a consequence of the 10-year agony of the Bolshevik regime. The Slovene Democratic Alliance together with Demos are aware that after the elections, the victor will have to assume the responsibility for administering the bankrupt property of Slovene real socialism. Social property should be taken over by the state [podrzaviti], so that it will not be dispersed, and privatization should then be carried out. An agency for the development of Slovenia should be set up. The management of enterprises should be taken over by highly professional teams; if necessary, they should be hired in the West. The Social Democratic Alliance will propose a law on social security that will provide a satisfactory living for the unemployed and their families.

Slovene Opposition Presents Foreign Policy Plans

AU1803154990 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 15 Mar 90 p 4

[Article by Dimitrij Rupel of the Slovene Democratic Alliance: "On the Foreign Policy of Sovereign Slovenia"]

[Excerpts] I. As in old Yugoslavia, the Slovenes have also been exposed in new Yugoslavia to a kind of captivity of a non-Slovene foreign policy. In old and in new Yugoslavia, foreign policy has been, above all, a Serbian foreign policy in many respects. The proportion of

employees in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs who are ethnic Serbs is 54 percent. This and many other foreign political achievements are, on the one hand, a result of the objective interplay of forces in Yugoslavia, and, on the other hand, a result of excessively weak efforts by the Slovenes themselves.

Many international contacts and problems warn us that the international community also sees Yugoslavia (or wants to see it) as a unitary state, or rather a state that only transient disturbances prevent from appearing as a completely unitary state, which is to say as a state of the Yugoslav nation.

Such views of Yugoslavia are among other things a consequence of the admission of non-Serbian Yugoslav peoples that their differences and peculiarities are some kind of an internal Yugoslav problem. We are different inside, but we are united outside: This has been the lasting fundamental hypothesis of the Yugoslav ideology. [passage omitted]

II. At the time that we want to rearrange the Yugoslav affairs in a way that will suit the Slovene interests, without endangering the interests of others, we must also ask ourselves about the opportunities for an independent Slovene foreign policy. There is no reason in principle against the right of the Slovenes to affirm their interests in the international community in an independent way that suits themselves. [passage omitted]

We may ask how federal institutions will regard an independent foreign policy of Slovenia. These institutions present an obstacle and perhaps even a danger primarily because they contain a Slovene element. They are indeed Serbian, Croat, Macedonian ... institutions, but at the same time they are also Slovene. We have given the right to these institutions to act on our behalf. As long as these services and institutions also belong to us, the danger of falsifying and flouting the Slovene national interests, including their foreign political interests, is much greater.

III. The Slovene foreign affairs are at the moment primarily within the powers of the federal secretariat in Belgrade. The secretariat employs 2,263 people, of whom 654 are in the diplomatic and consular field. The employees of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs include about 75 Slovenes, which is to say 3.3 percent of all the personnel working in Belgrade and abroad. [passage omitted]

Yugoslavia has 84 embassies, of which 10 to 12 belong to Slovenia. With the exception of the embassies in the Vatican, the FRG, India, the United Nations, and the EC, they are not the most important embassies.

IV. Two solutions are possible in making the Slovene foreign policy independent:

1. A completely independent and more-or-less-complete Slovene foreign policy; and

2. Division of labor with other republics while securing independence in some strategic points.

In connection with a complete independence of Slovenia it is necessary to speak about a complete independence of the Slovene foreign policy, which includes diplomatic relations with the Yugoslav state or rather the new Yugoslav states. In this case, the center for managing these affairs must be a—newly established—Slovene Foreign Ministry.

The Slovene Foreign Ministry will have to obtain cadres from all the Slovene parties, the economy, and academic and cultural institutions, and it should also seek assistance among emigrants. [passage omitted]

Slovenia should reckon with some 22 embassies and 10 consulates, in addition to which we would have to have some missions in Yugoslavia. If the expenses of an embassy amount to about $700,000, we must expect an annual expenditure of about 25 million dinars. [passage omitted]

V. Before we set up Slovene missions, we must establish a numerically and professionally strong foreign ministry that will at the beginning of the struggle for international recognition of Slovenia send its experts and envoys to the world (to political, economic, and banking centers). [passage omitted]

The first foreign political steps should lead us to the member countries of the Alps-Adriatic Working Community, to the governments of the neighboring states, the United States, and the USSR.

Social-Democratic Youth for Independent Slovenia

LD1503115790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0938 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—"Social-Democratic Youth can no longer keep silent in light of the latest manipulations of the future of Slovene statehood. We firmly reject the theses promoted by a number of parties about Yugoslav federation, asymmetric federation, or of a Yugoslav economic community as a means of keeping alive Yugoslavia as a dungeon for its people." This is stressed in a statement or rather an initiative, made public today by the Social-Democratic Youth of Slovenia.

In the view of the Social-Democratic Youth, all parties have so far failed to respond to demands for a Slovene republic as a sovereign, independent, and autonomous state despite the fact that the latest developments in Lithuania confirm "our view that the possibility of such a development is more than viable." An independent republic of Slovenia can, however, be attained only through public consensus and determined political action, the statement says.

As it is the young people of Slovenia who will be most affected by whatever decision is made now, the future status of the republic of Slovenia cannot and should not

be used by leaders of political parties as a bargaining chip. By its hitherto method of tackling the national issue, the League of Communists, in particular, has displayed an anti-people orientation. This is evident in Kosovo today and in other intranational conflicts in Yugoslavia, the statement notes.

A decision on Slovenia as an independent republic and on its association with any other state can be made by the citizens of the republic of Slovenia alone—in a referendum. In view of this, the Social-Democratic Youth of Slovenia will immediately after the elections instruct its representatives in the republic of Slovenia parliament to call for a referendum in which republic of Slovenia citizens will be able to freely decide on the future status of their state.

Slovene Reform Party Not To Attend LCY Plenum

AU1503214790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] At a news conference held at the republican Central Committee in Ljubljana, Lenard Setinc and Peter Bekes, Presidium members of the LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]-Party of Democratic Reform, expressed their party's views about Slovenia's confederal status, intensive contacts with other communities and democratic parties in the country and abroad, as well as the protest against the proposal to widen the border zone from 100 meters to 1,000 meters. Here is a report by Relja Atanasijevic:

[Atanasijevic] The program of activities of the LCS-Party of Democratic Reform is very full. On Saturday, the party representatives will meet members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Central Committee in Sarajevo, and next week they will meet the representatives of Croatian and Macedonian Central Committees in Zagreb and Skopje. The topics will be the same everywhere, the exchange of views about Yugoslav agreement on confederation and direct cooperation in the political aspect of democratization.

Lenard Setinc positively assessed Croatian and Macedonian stands about the fate of (?connections), but nevertheless pointed out that Slovene representatives will not attend the next session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, simply because no complete solution to the problem of reforming the Yugoslav Communists organization has been offered. A more detailed explanation will be issued in Ljubljana in the form of an announcement.

Speaking about the meeting with Organization of the League of Communists representatives in the Yugoslav People's Army held in Belgrade this afternoon, Lenard Setinc said that it was a working meeting and that it concerned clearing out some misunderstandings about Slovenia's new confederal links with Yugoslavia. He added that representatives of the LCS-Party of Democratic Reform in Ljubljana are of the opinion that the Organization of the League of Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army is an important factor in Yugoslavia and that it cannot be ignored as long as it remains in its present form..

The LCS-Party of Democratic Reform is planning many meetings with other democratic organizations in the country and abroad.

As regards the protest organized at 24 state border crossings along our borders with Italy, Austria, and Hungary, Peter Bekes said that it was very well attended and that it meant that people identified themselves with an open border that should be protected by militia and not by the Army. He added that this had been the first, but will probably not be the last, demonstration of that kind. If the proposal on widening the border zone is not withdrawn from the Federal Assembly, Bekes concludes, similar and more energetic actions will be held in Slovenia again.

Start of Slovene Election Campaign Reviewed

AU1603135890 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 14 Mar 90 p 5

[Boris Jez article: "Slovenes in the Grip of Their (Pallid) Parties"]

[Text] The 12 March television presentation of the four Slovene presidential candidates and of the election programs of all the parties, alliances, and groups disclosed the full glory and misery of our present party euphoria more than anything else has done so far. It all appeared very stilted, disorderly, and boring, just as the very show was presented stiffly and blandly.

In this connection, the question arises first of all of the path along which Slovene party political life will move in general: will the "Mediterranean" or the "Scandinavian" formula of party contest prevail? The former implies lively, pugnacious quarrels about all the burning issues, not excluding some blows below the belt, and the latter means a rather cool, rational deciding by voters among political programs that are not very intrusively presented. If we judge by the 12 March television "gathering" of Slovene politicians, we are somewhere in between at present, but not that we have taken the best parts of the two kinds! This sort of in-between position of the Slovene party life was above all determined, it seems, by the rather considerable lack of ideas, which was particularly manifested because the majority of those participating were inept media performers. In the West, those selected for such television appearances are not just the top party officials but people who have the deportment and know how to make use of the television medium.

In short, we have watched and listened to long-winded stories about green Slovenia, parliamentary democracy, civilian society, and similar things, which with all that repetition began to sound like cliches. Even Dragisa Marojevic felt that it was not sensible to stick out his

neck excessively, and he considerably toned down his views on a Yugoslav Slovenia. Both "gray panthers" and "craftsmen" also considered it necessary to say that they were in favor of freedom, democracy, and such things, although one would expect of them only to struggle for higher pensions or rather free enterprise. Only Joze Skolc said exactly what his party had done and what it intended to do in the future, but this, too, was lost in the general grayness.

It is not strange in such circumstances that the people's attention is turned toward the position and the personage of the president of the republican Presidency, although this office does not mean anything exceptional in the political system. It is much more important for the future of Slovenia to see who will compose the parliamentary majority, who will be at the helm of the government, and so forth. Thus the Slovenes are far from knowing who may take over the premiership under various options, which means that they can vote more or less "as the fancy takes them." Under such circumstances, one should reckon with the most unforeseeable internal shifts among the voters. Many could say, for instance: I would vote for Kucan, but 45 years of Communist rule is enough! You then have Pucnik, who lacks proper deportment and you never know what revenge he has up his sleeve. Oh, yes, the golden mean is still the best, and sudenly, there we now have Bozidar Demsar, so to say an unknown person, with the charm of Kirk Douglas and the reasonable and calming attitude of a doctor.

In brief, it is a great question to what extent the Slovenes know what they will vote for, although in consolation one should at once remark that big mistakes are often made even in "tested democracies." Nevertheless, the Slovene elections will be the first "real" ones after 45 years and one would expect that for this very reason the cards would be very clearly dealt out on the table.

Well, we may again console ourselves with the thought that after so many years of absence of a normal political life it is not possible to expect that these people will at once know how to behave as inveterate politicians. This of course is true, but on the other hand it is also probably clear that there should be no room for lack of professionalism in politics, in particular if these people are supposed to decide on the important questions and dilemmas that now face Slovenia. Old hands at politics would remark that party politicians have twice ruined our country, and the third time cannot be much worse; but of course such cynicism does not help now that Slovenia is poised to make a step.

The best we all can do to help ourselves is to establish a critical public attitude toward the parties now that they have obviously spread their wings over the Slovene scene. The majority of the Slovene parties, for instance, advocate a civilian society (it is not quite clear what this "advocacy" means), but experience shows that the institutions of a civilian society are established outside the party life or even against it.

In brief, the matter is that the Slovenes should become equal partners of their political representatives and not their slaves, just as customers of our banks. I am convinced that the starting shot for the television election campaign on Monday will help a great deal in this respect, so that the people may open their eyes and observe more carefully.

Ribicic Outlined Communists' Prospects

AU1603123790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Mar 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Ciril Ribicic, LCS-Party of Democratic Reform president, by Roksanda Nincic; place and date not given: "People Demand Confederation"]

[Excerpts] Slovenia has struck back—it has adopted a declaration on "economic self-protection measures." The Yugoslav "enfant terrible" is again behaving unconstitutionally—it has dropped the adjective "socialist" from the name of its republic. Yugoslavia is wondering whether the SFRY still exists? It is also wondering whether the Slovene politicians are not courting the electorate a bit too much, a bit too much for the country's diminished tolerance.

Yugoslavia may be wondering, but not Slovenia. In Slovenia, there is an exceptional degree of unanimity among the citizens of this republic about the aforementioned (and other) controversial questions; resolutions are being smoothly adopted; and the politicians and citizens are primarily concerned about the April elections. The election race—which other parts of the country are nowhere near yet—here, too, represents something new that everybody feels slightly uncertain about. This refers to both the party in power and the opposition, because both can easily happen to lose. The left- wing oriented voters are, again, afraid of a radical turnabout toward the right if the opposition coalition Demos wins.

The latest poll of an independent public opinion research agency, "Varijanta," (conducted on 7 and 8 March) shows, for the first time, that the ZSMZ [former initials of the Slovene Youth Federation]-Liberal Party leads (with 16.9 percent of the vote) the LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]-Party of Democratic Reform (13.9 percent of the vote). The figures for Demos are somewhat more complex. There are 8.9 percent of those who say that they will vote for the coalition. However, if this number is added to the number of votes that individual parties within the coalition have, it appears that 36.8 percent of the voters will vote for Demos. Yugoslavia is still not thinking seriously about how it will function if the Communists start losing at the elections, but Ciril Ribicic, LCS-Party of Democratic Reform president, has found time on the very eve of the adoption of the aforementioned decisions that infuriated the other parts of the country to talk to BORBA about elections and Yugoslavia amid all the tensions and expectations. The first question was how

the Communists rate their chances at the upcoming elections, and on what grounds.

[Ribicic] It is a fact that the results of the elections will be quite uncertain. The main reason for this lies in the fact that we have multiparty, free, and honest elections for the first time after a long period of time. For the Slovene state, these will be the first-ever elections for the republican parliament. If you added up all our and the oppositions' forecasted results, we would probably discover that in Slovenia the total number of votes amounts to 200 percent. It appears that we are all using political promotion techniques that prescribe that we should appear full of optimism and courage, despite the fact that deep inside everybody is afraid of a complete fiasco.

We in the LCS-Party of Democratic Renewal are trying to put an emphasis on the candidates and program, while, understandably, our political rivals who have fewer candidates and a shorter history are trying to place the emphasis on our mistakes, responsibility for the crisis, and the inability to solve the crisis. They are resorting to blows below the belt. Our party cannot afford to deal such low blows because this would automatically be interpreted as acting from the position of power. There has been much pressure from our party grass roots, as well as from some of our candidates, to approach the political struggle in the same way, but the party leadership did not accept this. We will perhaps only act more resolutely in response to the oppositions' attempts to disqualify us.

[Nincic] How could the results of the elections be affected by the fact that, according to the public opinion polls in Slovenia, there are not only some 30 to 40 percent of the electorate that have not made their mind up yet, but that there are also 58 percent of the people who are not familiar with the election procedure at all.

[Ribicic] The complicated method of voting is one of the problems, especially in the elections for the Sociopolitical Chamber, where there is a system of proportional representation, where one can vote for different parties irrespective of the candidates that have been put forward. If the name of the party is the main factor, then our results will not be all that good, even though we have changed the name in order to put our democratic reformist orientation in the first place.

[Nincic] One could say that your party candidates for the Presidency of Slovenia are known more than your candidates for the republican Assembly.

[Ribicic] This is not strictly true. Except Kucan, who was put forward as a candidate for the president, we have only two other candidates for members of the Presidency. We are thus the party that has nominated the smallest number of candidates for this body. The liberals and Demos have put forward four candidates each, the Socialist Alliance, three. We consciously wanted to place the emphasis on the nomination of candidates for the Assembly.

It would be normal, however, for the presidential elections to be held at different time from those for the Assembly because then the people would be able to decide which party is most capable of forming the best government. The struggle would therefore be fought only on one particular issue. At present too much emphasis is placed on otherwise very important decisions concerning the Presidency of the republic.

[Nincic] You say that your preelection optimism is based on your program. How is it then that your party—just like, after all, the opposition—does not deal more thoroughly with the future of the Slovene economy in its program?

[Ribicic] I think that, as far as my party is concerned, this observation is not quite correct. In our program we strive for a European quality of life that in itself indicates the direction of our economic development. [passage omitted]

[Nincic] In Ljubljana much is being said about a dramatic drain of members from the LCS-Party of Democratic Reform. The answer to the question whether the drain has not partly been stopped by the outcome of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is that it perhaps has. However, there is also a counter-question, namely whether this has happened because there is nobody else to leave the party, or because the citizens of Slovenia are satisfied with the conduct of the Slovene delegates at congress. Do you have any information about that?

[Ribicic] One of the reasons for the members leaving the party, which is not tragic nor unexpected, is the transformation of the party. Those who are leaving are, first of all, those who do not agree with the direction or pace of these changes. Those who joined the party for career reasons are also leaving because the membership in this party is no longer an advantage in the sense that it does not guarantee a good job or career. We are not sorry that such people are leaving because they are the ones who contributed to our failures in the past. [passage omitted]

[Nincic] Much is being said about anti-Communist mood in Slovenia that, as analysts in this republic say, is in some cases assuming the characteristics of revanchism. Are you afraid of this, and have you found a way to parry these phenomena?

[Ribicic] This involves a whole complex of questions. Anticommunism in the sense that somebody is presenting his own program orientations that are different from those offered by the Communists is quite normal.

[Nincic] The question was not about noncommunism, but about anticommunism, about revanchism toward the party that has untouchably ruled for 45 years.

[Ribicic] Yes, but the problem lies in the fact that anticommunism, like a counterrevolution and some other things, had in our country very broad interpretations so that every even slightly different opinion was

regarded as anticommunism or a counterrevolution. If one proceeds from the point of view of new program orientations, in my party there is also a considerable amount of anticommunism. [passage omitted]

[Nincic] The Slovene Assembly is just adopting a declaration of economic sovereignty. As regards this, does your party have a clear concept on what type of a Yugoslav confederation it will strive for, or to be more precise, how does it envision the political and economic position of Slovenia in this confederation?

[Ribicic] One thing are current circumstances in Yugoslavia, that is, extorted moves, or the blockade, or that the blockade will not be stopped, or that it does not even exist. We have done much in the political sense—not only our party, but also other parties—not to resort to countermeasures, or to apply them as late as possible in order to make the other side of Yugoslavia aware that one knows how this could end and where the countermeasures on countermeasures, or extortions in response to extortions, would lead. This kind of view is otherwise not very popular in Slovenia. The more popular stand —in the media, too—is a very decisive stand according to which the sharpest countermeasures should be undertaken.

This question is also connected with the development in the last 20 years, with the great absurdity that in the last 20 years everything possible has been done to eliminate consensus, to harmonize the Constitution, to make the republics independent and equal, and to find a unified way to organize our country, although it was clear that our federation cannot be unified because it is so complex.

[Nincic] As regards these last 20 years, other parts of the country have a completely different view—first of all that the 1974 Constitution is breaking up Yugoslavia....

[Ribicic] You can see, for instance, that Comrade Simic is presently proposing on behalf of the Organization of the League of Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army that a consensus be introduced in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, where up to now we have had democratic centralism. However, we have been saying for 20 years that a consensus is not a good principle for the organization of the state, let alone the party where this principle was regarded as anticommunist, counterrevolutionary, and so forth. I must say that in our republic this has created fairly negative attitudes toward Yugoslavia despite all efforts made to prevent it in my party and in the previous Leagues of Communists of Slovenia.

The public opinion of Yugoslavia could be summed up as follows: A few percent of people think that Slovenia's present status in Yugoslavia should be retained, more than 50 percent are in favor of a confederation, and there is an increasing number of those who favor secession.

[Nincic] There are still more of those who are for a confederation....

[Ribicic] Yes, "still" is the best comment.

If things in Yugoslavia continue to develop in the same way, the negative attitudes toward Yugoslavia will continue because, if we compare trends in last few years, we can see that every year there are five to six percent more people who favor secession. In some years, the figures were even higher. One should talk to people here and find out why this is so, because the impression sometimes created in Belgrade, at the federal level—and not only in Serbia—is that we are promoting our subjective programs and that we are trying to persuade the people to vote for a confederation when otherwise they would go for the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] federation. This is a wrong impression.

I would like to point out that the difference concerning this matter between us and the opposition is rather big, not only because we understand the meaning of a confederation differently, but also because we have arrived at our views from different positions, which is why our long-term aims are different. The opposition has clearly said that a confederation would be the road to Slovenia' full independence, or to be more precise, to secession. We stated that this would be a way of saving Yugoslavia. Under the present condition we do not see any other possibilities for achieving this.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

What Kind of Status Is Wanted for Slovenia

When I used the term asymmetric federation the first time—not as a political stand, but in an expert, scientific sense in a book that I jointly wrote with Tomc—the reaction was that this was a first step toward secession. In our view, this was the first step toward a unitarian country. I used the term asymmetric federation clearly, in the sense that if political polarizations continue, if the polarization between the centralist forces, so to speak, and separatists forces continue, that asymmetry may be the only possible positive transitional solution for saving Yugoslavia.

We have now opted for a confederal status of Slovenia within Yugoslavia—this is the stand taken by both our party and the opposition. Striving for a confederal status of Slovenia does not mean that we want to shape relations in the country according to our own ideas. Besides, the confederal status could mean many more things. It could be both a symmetric and asymmetric solution.

Support to Markovic

Recently, we have been working on a more serious, analytical approach to Markovic's reforms. Up to now, the general view was that of support, while criticisms were somehow in obscurity. We have now arrived at a clear definition. Generally speaking, the view is that we are still the supporters of the reform, that there is no other reform, that this reform is necessary, and that it was made on the basis of many things that we ourselves thought would curb inflation. However, we are critical of some things. I think that this is normal because it would

bad if Slovenia was taken as a natural ally of the Federal Executive Council regarding reforms, especially because it is understandable that under our conditions the economic reform is based above all on success, and even the sacrifices of those that are economically more successful—and in this part of the country there are more of those that are successful. [passage omitted]

People's Party Set Up in Slovenia

AU1603100890 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 10 Mar 90 p 3

[M. K. report: "Ivan Kramberger Sets Up a New Party"]

[Text] Kranj, 9 Mar—Ivan Kramberger announced today that he was forming a new Slovene People's Party [Slovenska Ljudska Stranka]. He attracted almost 3,000 people, who gathered in front of the Kranj Grammar School. He told them that in the morning, he delivered to the republican election commission 6,000 out of 22,000 written statements of support for his presidential nomination. "I will run and I will win," he repeatedly stressed. He addressed several coarse remarks at the Communists and promised that as president he will deliver Slovenia from Communist rule and from Serbian exploitation, in which he will be helped by the new party. The Slovene People's Party will struggle for comprehensive spiritual and physical freedom of man, the people, and the state of Slovenia. Ivan Kramberger left Kranj with several hundred new, signed membership applications. The first to sign one was Slobodan Jovanovic, 40, of Paracin, who lives in Kranj. He wrote his application in Cyrillic.

Slovene Assembly Declaration on Relations

AU1503123090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Mar 90 p 14

[Text of "Declaration on Determining the Relations That Are of General Importance for the Republic of Slovenia" adopted by the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia on 9 March: "The Republic Is 'Older' Than the Federation"]

[Text] Because of the one-sided break in economic relations by the Socialist Republic of Serbia with the Republic of Slovenia, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia states that circumstances have arisen whereby, because of the political decisions that have been endorsed by the highest state organs of Serbia, the SFRY Constitution is not being applied and legal obligations in the adopted federal legislature are not being met—which seriously undermines the constitutional and legal system of Yugoslavia and the legal security of economic entities and their equal position on the Yugoslav market—and the responsible organs of the federation do not ensure that these obligations are applied.

The Assembly of Slovenia states that circumstances have arisen whereby the functions of the federation and relations determined by the Constitution and federal laws are not being realized and equal opportunities have not been created for the flow of goods, capital, and services, which handicaps the working of the market. In order to prevent irresolvable consequences for the economic system and social relations in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia will—because of the reduction in national income and regardless of the obligations contained in federal laws—independently adopt economic self-protection measures and make independent decisions on fulfilling the obligations that it has undertaken toward the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the federation.

The Assembly requires its Executive Council to consistently implement the decisions that have already been adopted and to prepare and adopt measures to elaborate on this declaration.

If, while economic self-protection measures are being implemented, a contradiction arises between the provisions of the responsible organs in Slovenia and the organs of the federation, all organs in the Republic of Slovenia are obliged to behave according to the decisions of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia and its Executive Council.

The Assembly particularly states that it will fulfill the obligations undertaken in federal laws and in agreements with those republics and provinces with which normal economic relations have been established and which advocate respect for the legal order. The Assembly states that defense of the sovereignty of the Slovene people and the rights and authorities of the Republic of Slovenia in providing all opportunities for its own development is possible by determining its confederal position in Yugoslavia, as an acceptable way of expressing common interests and relations in Yugoslavia. To this end, it is necessary to immediately begin expert preparations for formulating a draft of the contents and procedure in proposing and implementing this orientation. The Executive Council should organize the expert preparations.

The Assembly invites all organs of the federation and all republics and provinces to reject all forms of the violent determination of relations in Yugoslavia and accept democratic equal dialogue as the only means and way to form the common elements in determining relations in Yugoslavia. This declaration is the basis and direction for the conduct of all state organs in the Republic of Slovenia.

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

Announcement to the World

The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia empowers the president to send—in cooperation with the republican government, parliaments and leaders of neighboring friendly states, and leaders of European groups—a special memorandum on Slovene circumstances and views concerned with the position of the Republic of Slovenia in Yugoslavia.

Recruits From Slovenia Do Not Go To Kosovo

The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia demands that the SFRY Presidency change the criteria by which military conscripts are allocated and use the criteria that will ensure that most of the recruits serve the Army in their own republic. The Assembly also demands that these criteria are used for the March allocation of recruits and that the call-up papers that have already been sent be changed. The Slovene Assembly has come out against sending recruits from Slovenia to Kosovo while the state of emergency is still in effect there. It was also proposed to the Federal Assembly that the federal law on all-people's defense be changed immediately, and the Executive Council is obliged to also prepare proposals on what is essential to change in the federal law.

Support in Principle for the Federal Executive Council

The Slovene Assembly supports Markovic's program in principle, but it believes that additional measures are essential in line with the orientations in the introductory speech by the assembly vice president and the Executive Council of Slovenia vice president, and in line with the proposals of the republican government and economic chamber.

Commune Refuses To Register Slovene Communists

AU1503135090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 90 p 12

[S.S. report; "'Real Communists' With a Wrong Name?"]

[Text] Ljubljana—The introduction of party pluralism into political life in Slovenia has led to the first legal problem. The Secretariat for General Administration of the Ljubljana-Center Commune has refused to enter the newly founded League of Communists in Slovenia-Socialist Alliance of Working People [Savez Komunista u Sloveniji-Socijalisticki Savez Radnih Ljudi] (SZDLJ) into the register of political organizations, with the explanation that, according to Article 13 of the Law on Political Association, the name of an organization must be clearly distinguishable from the name of other socio-political organizations and that the abbreviation of its name must not be identical to the abbreviation of an already registered political organization.

The TRIBUNA student newspaper that started this initiative appealed against this ruling, saying that no such party has been registered in the postwar period. The reply is expected to be given the middle of next week. Samo Resnik, one of the new party's initiators, told us that in case the answer is negative, the party will rename itself the Communist Party of Slovenia, because, according to its program and statute, it is, in fact, a communist party. He said that the party had held its founding congress, which was attended by all the remaining real communists in Slovenia. At the very beginning, the party decided to take the name of the two organizations that followed the illustrious communist tradition in Slovenia.

According to Resnik, the aim of the party is to show the public that the present "democratic reformers" have betrayed the idea of communism and accepted revisionism. The new communist party has announced that, after it is registered, it will accept all members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia who want to remain communists, and has therefore announced plans to have contacts with Leagues of Communists from other parts of Yugoslavia.

Slovene Opposition Wants End to Political Police

AU1503122890 Ljubljana DEMOKRACIJA in Slovene 6 Mar 90 p 1 (Tentative)

[Demos request: "To Abolish Political Police"]

[Text] From Demos-United Opposition, Sternenova 8, 61000 Ljubljana
To the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, Subiceva 4, 61000 Ljubljana

At its session on 19 February 1990, the Presidency of Demos-United Opposition adopted the following requests that it addresses to the next session of the republican Assembly and to the public:

1. Amendment 51 to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia should be implemented so that internal affairs organs will no longer be allowed, without a court order, to examine the mail and to tap telephone conversations.
2. The Committees for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection should be abolished at all levels, and in the transitional period, until completely new legislation is adopted, their tasks and powers should be wholly taken over by state organs.
3. The political secret police should be abolished completely.

All the above requests should be discussed by the republican Assembly at once and should be decided upon by urgent procedure.

Ljubljana, 28 February 1990.
[Signed] Dr. Joze Pucnik, president of the Presidency.

Demos Urges Creation of Slovene Armed Forces

LD0203205990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The Demos, a united Slovene opposition, has claimed that "Slovenia is capable of organizing and sustaining its own armed forces and that this would cost it less than its current share of the federal budget earmarked for that purpose." This, among other things, was stressed at today's news conference organized by the Demos. The main objective of the opposition group is Slovene independence.

The Demos calls on the assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, at its session scheduled for 7 March, to suspend certain legal regulations according to

which Slovene conscripts are obliged to serve their military service in other parts of the country. Likewise, they demand that republican and municipal bodies should not distribute military service calls if the service is to be served outside Slovenia. They also call on the federal secretary for national defense to place all soldiers from Slovenia in Army units stationed in Slovenia.

Serbian Officials Attend Rally in Lipljan

AU1803193490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] After yesterday's excesses in Lipljan, where an interethnic incident was avoided by a split second, today some 3,000 Serbs and Montenegrins are holding a protest rally that is also attended by republican officials Milomir Minic, Miroslav Djordjevic, and Radomir Bogdanovic. Here is a report from Milivoje Mihajlovic:

[Mihajlovica] Some 3,000 Serbs and Montenegrins who gathered in Lipljan tonight insisted that the rule of law be introduced in Kosovo as soon as possible. In a discussion that was held in the overcrowded Culture Hall, and which was followed by some 2,000 citizens gathered outside the building, it was stressed that Lipljan is a target of Albanian separatists because the bulk of the population in this commune are Serbs and Montenegrins.

The participants in the meeting also criticized the erroneous policy that has been conducted for a long time and the emigration of the Slav population from this region. The critical situation concerning interethnic relations was illustrated by numerous examples. The demands for the replacement of communal officials who are, as stated, in the service of Albanian separatism were also repeated.

Republican officials Milomir Minic, Miroslav Djordjevic, and Radmilo Bogdanovic were asked whether the state of Serbia intended to keep the Slav population in Kosovo happy with promises in a hell named Kosovo.

Addressing the citizens, Miroslav Djordjevic, Presidency of Serbia member, and Milomir Minic, Central Committee secretary of the League of Communists of Serbia, stressed that initiative for changing the Constitution of Serbia will be launched very soon. New changes should ensure the full equality of all citizens in Kosovo and prevent national majoritarianism. In the new [words indistinct] Milomir Minic said, is offering peace and equality and will not allow Albanians to be treated as second-class citizens.

The meeting of the citizens of Lipljan is not finished yet.

Serbs Interrupt Albanian Gathering in Kosovo

AU1703200590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Madr 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Kosovo]

[Text] Although there have been no street riots, great tension and uncertainty continue to reign in Kosovo. National divisions are obvious almost at every step, and there is constant danger of an open clash.

Such a clash was avoided in Lipljan this morning, when some 400 Albanians gathered in the Culture Hall with the intention to set up a branch of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo. The founding meeting of the branch was attended by some 250 Albanians from other areas of Kosovo.

The meeting was announced several days in advance, and the Serbs and Montenegrins from Lipljan on several occasions issued warnings that they would not allow it to be held, explaining that the meeting would mean pouring fuel on the fire at a time when interethnic relations are badly disturbed.

Therefore, some 1,000 ethnic Slavs gathered today, and pushed their way into the Culture Hall. According to eyewitnesses, a verbal clash occurred, but fortunately this was all. The presence of the militia was sufficient to prevent the worst. The meeting of the Democratic Alliance branch was interrupted, and the Serbs and the Montenegrins then held a meeting at which they demanded that those who allowed this to happen, and especially some leaders in the commune, be called to account.

A telegram of warning was sent to the organs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Republican officials, especially Internal Affairs Secretary Radmilo Bogdanovic, were invited to come to Lipljan and to see the actual state of affairs.

More Kosovo Villages Join Democratic Alliance

AU1803203190

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 18 March opens its regular newscast with an announcer's statement that "Within the context of activities to stabilize the situation, gatherings were held in many parts of our province today, at which citizens of the Albanian nationality expressed their support for the Yugoslavia of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and for the equality and full unity of peoples and nationalities, and demanded that the present situation in the province be overcome as soon as possible."

After 12 minutes of reports on federal and world news, a 21-minute block of Kosovo news begins with a report that states: "The Students' Accommodation Group has called on all resident students of Pristina University, regardless of nationality, who returned home for the weekend, to return as soon as possible to Pristina and continue normal classes. Thanks to a gesture of solidarity and kindness from Pristina citizens, accommodations have been found in private apartments. The center of the Students Accommodation Group is situated in the Technical Faculty, and students without accommodations may register between 0900 and 2000."

Reports from various Kosovo communes follow, mentioning gatherings in about 30 villages, at which Albanians called for democratic dialogue and the lifting of the emergency measures in Kosovo, and transformed local branches of the Socialist Alliance of Working People into branches of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance. Many blood feuds are reported to have been settled, and local councils for the return of Albanian emigrants were formed.

Kosovo Democratic Alliance Holds News Conference

AU1603205290 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] At a news conference organized today by the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, which was also attended by representatives of the Kosovo Peasants Party, the Women's Association of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms, the Pristina branch of the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, and the Kosovo Youth Parliament, journalists were given the texts of various communiques, protests, and open letters.

Representatives of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance first informed the journalists about new branches that were formed in Maliseve, Dragas, and Lipjan. They then distributed a communique on the subject of the latest Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee meeting, which dealt with education in Kosovo. The communique says that the association is against a negative educational policy and raises its voice against the differentiation of educational staff on the basis of their nationality. The association also expresses its support for all teachers who have been dismissed from their jobs, and called for their immediate reinstatement, adding that this would help stabilize the situation in Kosovo.

The Women's Association of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance also addressed itself to the journalists with the text of a protest sent to the Kosovo Provincial Executive Committee and the Conference for Social Activity of Women of Yugoslavia. The protest says that, in the name of Kosovo mothers, the association strongly condemns the decision to segregate children in Kosovo schools on a nationality basis.

The members of the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms protested against the indictment of the council's secretary, declaring this to be a baseless, premeditated, and vengeful act by the state organs.

The members of the Kosovo Youth Parliament presented a communique accusing the state organs of officially introducing segregation in schools, adding that the Youth Parliament is against all divisions on a nationality basis. They also call on Pristina citizens to provide private accomodation to all students expelled from the Student Center.

The members of the Pristina branch of the Yugoslav Democratic Initiative announced that the continuation of the Mostar meeting would be held on 30-31 March in Pristina in order to give democracy another try, as they stated. They also called on all independent trade union organizations throughout the province to give financial support to the independent trade union of the Pristina Ramiz Sadiku Construction Combine.

Kosovo Communities Leave Socialist Alliance

LD1603235390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2157 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, March 16 (TANJUG)—In the past seven days, 67 local communities in the Yugoslav provinces of Kosovo have stepped out of the Socialist Alliance, the political organization with the largest membership, and joined the alternative organization, the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, Alliance Secretary Jusuf Budjovi said at a regular weekly press conference in Pristina today.

Lulet Pula, spokeswoman for the Women's Association, described as "ethnic segragation and Kosovo apartheid" the decision taken by the provincial government last night to temporarily close down the secondary schools and the students' hostel in Pristina.

Based on the judgement of the public prosecutor, proceedings were stopped in Pristina today against one Ibro Osmani, former head of the Centre for Information and Propaganda of the Presidency of Kosovo, who had been accused of counter-revolutionary activity during the unrest of ethnic Albanian separatists in February of last year.

About 1,000 students of Pristina's Albanian-language secondary schools and about that many of the Pristina technical college demonstrated in the provincial capital today against the Kosovo government's decision of last night to temporarily close down the secondary schools and the students' hostel in Pristina in order to prevent direct inter-ethnic conflicts between students.

A conference of Kosovo jurists, organized by the provincial jurists' association, decided that it be proposed to the Assembly of Kosovo not to approve the Presidency of Yugoslavia proposal for changing the country's constitution, with the explanation that the proposal restricts the autonomy of the province.

Pristina Pupils Protest School Closures

AU1603203190 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Last night's decision by the Kosovo Executive Council to temporarily close down some secondary schools and the Student Center in Pristina caused reactions among Albanian-nationality schoolchildren and students. Pristina secondary school pupils began to meet in the Boro and Ramiz Hall. This happened during the morning and the pupils went on to march through the streets of the city. At about 1000, some 1,000 pupils and

parents held a protest meeting. Muhamet Hysaj, provincial secretary for education and culture, addressed the gathering, explaining last night's decision of the Executive Council. The pupils and their parents voiced numerous criticisms of the Bozur Association for the return of Serbs and Montenegrins. After the meeting, the pupils resumed their peaceful march through the main Pristina avenue, which lasted until the afternoon.

Meanwhile, over 1,000 students gathered at the Technical Faculty to protest the closure of the Student Center, saying they would refuse to leave the dormitories.

A number of schools in various communes were also not functioning today. Such was the case in the secondary schools in the communes of Gnjilane and Lipjan.

Pristina Student Center, Four Schools Closed

LD1603113190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0852 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—Four secondary schools and the student center in Pristina are to be closed during the next week, until conditions for their normal work are restored.

The decision was made by the Executive Council of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo Assembly at its extraordinary session last night, the Secetariat for Information of the Kosovo Assembly stated Monday. The following schools will be temporarily closed: Ivo Loa Ribar, the 19 November secondary school center, the Nine May medical secondary school, and Djevdet Doda High School.

The Executive Council charged the Pristina competent bodies to find possible solutions for a normal resumption of the school year, so that the present timetable for all students attending the morning shift [Yugoslav school lessons are in two shifts: from 0800 to 1400 local time and from 1400 to 2000 local time] is not disrupted and students will not have to repeat this schoool year due to a lengthy school closure.

The provincial Executive Council made this decision with the aim of preventing direct intranational conflicts between students. The statement cites that the security situation in Kosovo is still characterized by deep divisions and blockades based on intranational animosity, especially noticeable in education.

The Kosovo Executive Council at the same time concluded that, due to the grave situation and a danger from conflicts arising between students of different nationalities, competent bodies of the student center are to make a decision to close the center for the duration of the next week as well. Students are to leave their dormitories by 1800 on 16 March at the latest. The council charged the administration of the student center and competent provincial bodies to secure places for all students who were placed in the dormitories and to create conditions for a normal resumption of the work of the center.

Kosovo Trade Union Discusses Independent Unions

LD1603131790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—The Kosovo trade union advocates that regular work, optimal use of candidates, increased production, and responsibility for the workers in the province be secured. We must wage a war against idleness, negligence, indiscipline, and advocation of idleness and strikes. Resolutions for problems and personal incomes should not be sought outside enterprises, but within them, Caslav Bojanic, member of the provincial trade union Federation Council Presidium said at today's session of the Presidium, held to discuss the reform of the labor organization.

Reviewing the phenomenon of the large number of independent trade unions formed in several municipal centers in the province, Bojanic said that they are leaving the trade union federation in an organized form, and that the provincial organization is not backing them, because they are mainly single nation unions and are at odds with interests of the working class. It was also said that a large number of workers are dissatisfied with their increasingly worsened status. However, no so-called independent trade union has as yet offered a program which would contain more on this than the Kosovo trade union.

In the course of the discussion, Jakup Cucala, member of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council, in reviewing the independent trade unions, said that according to him "these organizations should not be condemned a priori, but that they should be viewed individually and that a dialogue should be established with them in order to find common ground between them and the Kosovo Trade Union." Cucala added that the Kosovo trade union contributed with its idleness and sluggishness to the formation of independent trade unions.

"It is normal, he went on, for them to be created on a single-nation basis, although their existence is very damaging for the interests of the working class of Kosovo."

Jakup Cocala claimed that the Kosovo trade union lost the battle with them, and said that now more energy and efforts will be needed to reestablish unity in this workers' organization. Therefore, he said, we must offer good programs which would attract workers, because we must not reconcile ourselves to mass desertion of the trade union.

The Kosovo trade union, it was noted in the discussion, will cooperate with all parties with the Yugoslav option, but it will oppose all alternative movements championing different options.

Those offering single-nation political programs cannot be viewed as trade union organizations, because they are

primary political parties. The Kosovo Trade Union Council will never back such organizations and parties, it was concluded.

Urosevac School Children Back University Demands

AU1503201890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Several hundred ethnic Albanian children from the Peko Tepavcevic elementary school in Urosevac held a protest meeting in the schoolyard and then shouted slogans in the Urosevac streets.

Elementary school children were throwing stones and broke windows in their school building, as well as damaged several cars. The militia was there, but failed to intervene.

Children from this elementary school wanted university students' demands to be met, that is, that Urosevac communal leadership be replaced and that the dismissed workers of the Seamed Pipes Factory be taken back to work.

Later, about 1400, the children dispersed without the militia intervening. However, there is still an unusually large number of young people in the Urosevac main street at the moment.

Serbs' Class Schedule Sparks Protests in Kosovo

AU1503193490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Lessons were not held in the majority of Pristina schools today. The protests of ethnic Albanian children in Kosovo against the decision that Serbian and Montenegrin children should go to school only in the morning have become more frequent. Here is a report by Milivoje Mihajlovic:

[Mihajlovic] The decision of the educational authorities that, for security reasons, secondary school students, ethnic Serbs and Montenegrins, should have their lessons only in the morning cannot be implemented. The students who, according to timetable, should have their lessons in the afternoon also came to school again this morning. Ethnic Albanian secondary school students, their teachers, and particularly their parents disagree with the decision. There was even an incident at the Pristina Medical School. Several ethnic Albanian students threw stones and broke windows. There was a melee and a fight broke out among children, and eye witnesses claim that there were some minor injuries.

No lessons were held at the Ivo Lola Ribar Grammar School either, although Jusuf Zejnulahu, president of the Kosovo Executive Council, and the school managers stayed until midnight trying to persuade ethnic Albanian teachers that the decision should be implemented.

About 150 ethnic Albanians protested in the Kosovo Assembly against, as they put it, the division of students on the national basis. In the talks with Jusuf Zejnulahu, president of the Provincial Government, and Muhamed Bicaj, provincial education secretary, they pointed out that tomorrow, too, they will come to school together with their children.

Ethnic Albanian students in Djakovica, Orahovac, Malisevo, and some other places in the province are holding mass protests against this decision. School authorities are obviously incapable of solving the problem which might escalate into larger unrest in the province, because misusing children for political reasons is nothing new in Kosovo.

Calls for Expulsion of Albanian Refugees Viewed

AU1603164190 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 12 Mar 90 p 4

[J. Pejic article: "How To Deny Them Hospitality?"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade 11 Mar—"The expulsion of refugees from Albania" is being called for increasingly often at rallies, political meetings, and from rostrums throughout Serbia. It is said that this must be done at once, without delay, within the shortest possible time. However, the question arises of whether, if this demand is to be met, it can be done quickly. From the legal angle, one can say—no.

At the end of last year, there were 732 officially recognized refugees from Albania in Yugoslavia, of whom the majority, 665, live in Kosovo. The Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia has proposed to the Internal Affairs Secretariats of Yugoslavia and Kosovo that a number of these who have been sentenced for crimes or misdemeanors should be deprived of their status and residence permits. This proposal, it is stressed, was made in harmony with the conclusions of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly in June 1989 and the plans for the work of the Internal Affairs Secretariats were approved one month later.

Some time ago, the League of Communists also raised its voice, adopting at the last republican party plenum stands similar to those of Serbia in its document "For Peace, Freedom, Democracy, and Prosperity in Kosovo." This document points out, among other things, "the need" to expel "persons from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania who are not Yugoslav subjects and who are residing illegally in Yugoslavia."

The document also calls for those who have acquired Yugoslav citizenship "in illegal ways" or "have acted against the constitutionally defined social order, the territorial integrity, and the state sovereignty of Serbia and Yugoslavia" to be deprived of their citizenship.

Not to enter into the practical and no doubt psychological consequences of such a proposal to "refuse hospitality" or deprive people of their citizenship, the question

arises of what the real effect of such a measure would be in terms of the number of people it would include. The greatest problem is that of judicial procedure. Not only could the procedure not be carried out at once, as it were, in the twinkling of an eye, but expulsion and withdrawal of citizenship, international experience shows, are exceptionally unpopular measures.

Bearing in mind the large-scale migration of the population before, during, and after World War II, it is virtually certain that the exact number of arrivals to Yugoslavia from Albania can never be ascertained. Different figures, dependent on the aims of the policies of the day and other purposes, will remain in circulation. According to the data available to the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the number between 1941 and the end of last year was—15,000.

In this period, there came to the SFRY 3,604 people born in Albania during the war and 501 Yugoslavs of Albanian origin who had emigrated or escaped to Albania and who returned as aliens after 1941. Apart from 7,137 "classic" cases of refugees from Albania (the largest period of "admission" was 1949-1956), 4,000 persons born in Yugoslavia before the war, but who had in the meantime lived in Albania, returned to the SFRY after the liberation.

The liberal provisions of the Yugoslav citizenship law of 1965 covered a large number of people and regularized the citizenship of "all those who were born and grew up in Yugoslavia" and those "who settled permanently in Yugoslavia before 15 May 1945, if they have acted on the assumption of possessing Yugoslav citizenship until the date this law comes into force, and have not called themselves foreign subjects."

According to the records of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, 3,142 persons obtained Yugoslav citizenship between the beginning of the war and the end of last year. Not counting under-age members of their families, 1,229 persons have acquired the status of refugees, while 2,969 have in different ways moved on to third countries, mainly in the West.

The Rules Must Be Observed

An overview of the situation on 31 December 1989 shows that potential candidates for expulsion include the 732 above-mentioned people, and the 665 with refugee status living in Kosovo. However, hospitality can only be denied to them by adhering to a very large number of rigorous conditions laid down in international conventions which Yugoslavia has ratified, as well as internal laws approved on the basis of these conventions. [passage omitted]

The real figures of the number of Albanian refugees in Yugoslavia and their "contribution" to Kosovo's current problems will remain a controversial topic for a long time. According to some, these people are among the first to be blamed for the separatist indoctrination of part of the province's Albanian population, while others consider the real reasons for the interethnic conflict to be the mistaken policies in and on Kosovo which are now being pursued, and have been for many years.

In any event, care must be taken to ensure that the proposed expulsion of a number of Albanian refugees does not become a reason for the further deterioration of interethnic relations. At the same time, it offers an opportunity to clearly define a policy of justice, if such a thing is possible.

Kosovo Rumored To Be Reason for Militia Problem

AU1503212990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 90 p 4

[D. Vitomirovic report: "Psychosis, But Not Mass Psychosis"]

[Excerpts] Zajecar—The number of reports proclaimed as taboo subjects and withheld from the Yugoslav democratic public is decreasing. One of the latest of this kind is the news that has only been whispered about in recent days, and that is that a number of militiamen from Serbia are leaving or announcing that they are leaving the service because they are being sent to Kosovo. If this is true and there is much to support this claim, then the price of deploying militia members from Serbia according to the "rotation system" for temporary duty in Kosovo is exceptionally high (and not only in the material sense).

Rumors about increasingly frequent requests by militiamen to be relieved from duty are not only circulating among members of the internal affairs service, militiamen are increasingly going on sick leave when their detachments are preparing go to Kosovo, and there have even been open refusals to go to Kosovo as part of a unit.

Since 1981, most militiamen from Serbia have been stationed "temporarily" for a short or long period in Kosovo several times. Aware of their professional and patriotic duties to defend the entire Yugoslav territory and to protect the personal and material integrity of all people in Kosovo, the militiamen from Serbia have so far without objection carried out their tasks as part of the combined militia unit.

Pressure From Relatives

However, the living and working conditions of the militiamen temporarily posted in Kosovo are far below the minimum conditions required to carry out difficult and responsible tasks. People are housed in the buildings of cooperatives and warehouses without any sanitary facilities and without the possibility of gathering together and having their minimal leisure requirements provided for. They most often sleep on the floor without the so-called break for the next shift. They are often forced to provide their own food which is often boring and of poor quality. They do not have a guaranteed link with their families, even though it is known how much families worry about them and their safety after the horrific scenes that can be seen on television screens. A

particular issue is the issue of their authorities. The militiamen are subjected daily to physical and psychological mistreatment without the possibility of using any means to protect their integrity. They are always the targets for stone throwing and firearms. They are verbally abused and humiliated by the mob.

One of the factors that strongly influences a militiaman's decision to ask to leave the service is pressure from family and relatives. All those scenes on television, what is heard on the radio, and what is read in the newspapers that talk about the number of militiamen who have been injured and about the threat to their lives, worry their families who put pressure on them to leave the service. We spoke with Ljubomir Mikulovic, deputy secretary of the Zajecar regional Secretariat for Internal Affairs. [passage omitted]

As regards the rumors about militiamen leaving the service en masse lest they be sent to Kosovo, this is not completely true. There have been sporadic cases of requests for relief from duty but without citing Kosovo as the reason. There have also been cases of people going on sick leave but I would say that these have been within the limits of the number of previous cases. When the latest contingent was going off to this region, those who were on sick leave applied to go so that it could not be said that this was the reason they were on sick leave. I can say that the state of morale of the militia members as regards going to Kosovo is at quite a high level, said Mikulovic. [passage omitted]

Kosovo SAWP Presidium Views Media Coverage

AU1503173590 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 6 Mar 90 pp 1-3

[T. Neziri, M. Gjata report: "Objectivity—Criterion for Judging the Mass Media's Work"]

[Excerpts] The recent work of the media, especially in covering recent Kosovo events, was the topic of a meeting of the Presidium of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Provincial Conference, chaired by Zivorad Igic. In fact, this Presidium has debated this issue twice in the last month, but it was noticed that this time the majority of speeches showed, most importantly, a more proper analysis and that matters were not painted in black and white. There were efforts to tackle this problem in a more sophisticated, thorough, and self-critical way in order to overcome the serious shortcomings of both the Albanian- and Serbo-Croatian-language media in informing the public about events in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Slobodan Dimic concentrated his speech on the reporting of RILINDJA, and said that RILINDJA had carried some good commentaries recently, but that they have been overshadowed by daily reports from the field on the protest gatherings of the Albanian population. The editorial board has devoted one, two, or more pages every day to reports on gatherings of citizens criticizing the militia. This, he said, is "a kind of demonstration in itself," because, he said, "attacks on the militia are at the same time attacks on Yugoslavia." It is evident, he said, that the meetings have conveyed the fact that the Albanian population are in favor of Yugoslavia, but the reports nowhere state why Serbia is ignored, why people are protesting 28 March being made a public holiday, why people are leaving the League of Communists [LC] en masse, and so forth. He took exception to RILINDJA's failure to distance itself in any way from the demands issuing from these meetings for the resignation of the president, deputy president, and even the secretary of the Kosovo SAWP. There has been a lot of shouting for Adem Demaci [jailed writer] at the meetings, he said, and no commentary or feature in RILINDJA has explained who Adem Demaci is. He then pointed out that RILINDJA is giving a lot of space to the alternative movements, and said that everybody knows what they stand for. He specifically drew attention to an article in yesterday's RILINDJA, which called Ibrahim Rugova a splendid philosopher of aesthetics. He concluded by pointing out that there are also shortcomings in JEDINSTVO, where there has been a lack of commentaries opposing calls for arms and countering demands to close the university. He concluded by saying that it seems that RILINDJA, and demands that every problem should be referred to Belgrade, is in the service of someone else. [sentence as published] [passage omitted]

Agim Mala, general director of Pristina Radio and Television, said he could not tolerate discussion of the kind heard at this meeting, at which the Albanian-language media were again being blamed for everything that happens in Kosovo. According to some speakers, they must be closed down and not allowed to report at all, at a time when there have been increasing tendencies to impose restrictions. He said that we must not allow the irrational political atmosphere of gatherings and street events to infiltrate this forum.

Agim Mala went on to point out that the criterion for judging the media's contribution must be the Federal Executive Council's standpoint that the situation in Kosovo must be pacified as soon as possible and that ethnic tension among the broad masses must be reduced. I think, Agim Mala said, that neither the Albanian- nor the Serbo-Croatian-language media have succeeded in carrying out this duty. With reference to the Pristina Television commentary on colonization which the meeting had mentioned, Agim Mala pointed out that the Serbo-Croatian editorial boards or a Serbian or Montenegrin journalist should have produced a commentary against the theories about the colonization of Kosovo that have been heard, because we know what the idea of colonization spread at some gatherings by Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists means for the Albanians. It reminds them of the prewar years and the confiscation of their land; 70 percent of the population of Kosovo is rural, and one can imagine how ethnic tension rises in situations of this kind. An Albanian journalist commented on this issue, and said there has been a failure to distinguish between the process of bringing back to

Kosovo emigrants and those who wish to live here, which is planned to be achieved through a program of development, and unacceptable demands for colonization. This has caused political damage.

Agim Mala concluded by saying that the Kosovo media complement others, and that people do not only obtain information from the local media. We live at a time of radio and telecommunications when information passes from one side of the world to the other, and attempting to impede it in an area like ours is counterproductive.

Petar Jaksic said that everyone knows that the state has been attacked, and it must therefore be defended by every means. The media must be regarded in this light. He asked why the communique condemning colonization had come from the RILINDJA staff, and also warned of the activities of the Alternative, which is not only gathering people on a single-nationality basis, but defending nationalist and neofascist standpoints. We must trust the state and the commissions formed by the authorities to investigate cases where the militia have overstepped their authorities. He also pointed out that the Communists of RILINDJA were the first to leave the ranks of the LC, and stressed that such a thing has not happened at JEDINSTVO. [passage omitted]

Nazmi Misini, acting chief editor of RILINDJA, stressed that he agreed that we must all start somewhere in defending the state against attacks. However, there are now different angles to the defense of the state, and until this apparent dilemma is solved, I do not think it is possible for us to preempt a decision or find a common starting point. He said that the meeting's material for discussion was now better presented, because it no longer merely consists of black and white judgments. He said that efforts are being made by RILINDJA to publish as many articles as possible mobilizing the people, and there have been increasing numbers of these recently. I cannot really believe that Comrade Dimic thinks that RILINDJA is in the service of someone else. If this is the way he thinks, he must have evidence. What arguments would support such an idea? RILINDJA, he said, is in the service of the policies of Yugoslavia, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. It has also been said here that RILINDJA is giving more space than it should to the Alternative. We cannot close ourselves completely to them, he said, and must ask what we would achieve by doing so. It must also be said that it is not in any way RILINDJA's fault that the Alternative is part of reality today. The Alternative has cleverly exploited the vacuum left by the state and sociopolitical organizations and these organizations' silence, and therefore occupies the place it does today. We have commented on every controversial view produced by the Alternative at their news conferences, clearly dissociating ourselves from the Alternative's untenable views. This is all that can be said about RILINDJA; no rash judgments can be made. Nazmi Misini mentioned the front-page commentary entitled "The Alternative and Democracy," which clearly shows RILINDJA's view on democracy. Having considered the Alternative's programs, he said, there are five essential issues on which we disagree with them. However, all the views of the Alternative cannot be rejected a priori, particularly their commitment to democracy, which is in accordance with the LC's principles of democratic pluralism.

I am not saying that there are no shortcomings in RILINDJA, but our newspaper did not spread the theory about the colonization of Kosovo. It was not we, but a Serbian SAWP meeting that came up with this idea. Nazmi Misini went on to point out that some people say that the newspaper is supporting demands to lift the emergency measures, but I say that newspapers are not supporting this demand, but reporting it from citizens' meetings. RILINDJA has commented specifically on this matter, and has rejected such demands, just as it has rejected demands to annul the amendments to the Serbian Constitution. He went on to say that we are aware that there are still emotional and angry articles in RILINDJA, and we have said clearly that this is no way to behave and have attacked such things almost every day at our working meetings. There have also been assertions that the Albanian-language media have not been sufficiently active in opposing Albanian nationalism, but it is also an important truth that Serbian-language newspapers have not opposed the frequent calls for arms, and so forth. In conclusion, he expressed optimism that the changes and cadre renewals in RILINDJA have led to a revival in the paper's work and have led to a speedy improvement in the collective's general situation. [passage omitted]

The Presidium went on to discuss various cadre questions, and approved the nomination of Nazmi Misini as chief editor of RILINDJA, a matter which will be decided at the next meeting. The Presidium continued its work in a closed session, discussing Radoslav Zlatanovic's speech at the last Kosovo SAWP Conference and announcing that the public will be told the whole truth about this speech.

Kosovo Youth Organization Discusses Dialogue

LD0103114290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2027 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, February 28 (TANJUG)—There can be a dialogue in the Yugoslav Province Kosovo about everything except the toppling of the Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia, Kosovo party leader Rahman Morina underscored today at a session of the leadership of the youth organization of the province.

According to Morina, the Republic of Slovenia has also joined the unfair game around Kosovo. This republic recently refused to continue to contribute the part of the funds for Kosovo in the Fund of the Federation for Undeveloped Parts of the Country.

The Presidency of the Youth Organization of Kosovo today urged a dialogue with all progressive forces which have opted for Yugoslavia, with a restriction that there

can be no dialogue with those who offer discord and hatred in the name of a false democracy.

Such a democratic dialogue was supported today also at a round table discussion organized by the Democratic Forum of Socialist Forces of (?Pristina), which consists of all official socio-political organizations of Kosovo's capital.

It was assessed at this meeting that the programs of the Kosovo Alternative Movement, which was not represented at the discussion, offer conflicts and bloodshed. The Kosovo Alternative Movement, it was assessed, once more confirms that it wants to make Kosovo a republic with its view of autonomy as exclusively (?on) "Albanian questions" and "Albanian autonomy."

There are still no classes at Kosovo University, and about half the students are not attending classes in elementary and secondary schools either. The students, both ethnic Albanians and those of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, are waiting for their demands to be met, demands which are diametrically opposite.

While ethnic Albanians demand that the special measures be lifted and a dialogue be opened between official organs and the Alternative Movement, Serbs and Montenegrins demand that their safety be secured to attend classes and expulsion from schools for those students who took part in the (?January and February) unrest lax by Albanian separatists and (?their professors) who incited them to do so.

The Socialist Alliance of Pec today sharply condemned the mass violations of public law and order during the curfew which was introduced a week ago.

At the beginning of curfew, in Pec and all other Kosovo cities, ethnic Albanians make loud noises in their apartments by banging metal objects, shoot from firearms, chant separatist slogans. All this affects the already aggravated inter-ethnic relations.

'Croat Greenpeace Forum' Registered

LD0203175890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1341 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The Croat Greenpeace Forum is the latest registered social organization in that republic. Its work will involve the prevention of all further activities damaging to the environment and ecological-humanitarian interests of the population.

The Greenpeace Forum was founded to warn, inform, and educate citizens about all aspects of the depletion of natural resources, pollution, excesses in the social environment, the decline of the material and cultural heritage, violence, and other forms of violation and neglect of human rights and liberties. The forum will contribute to spreading Greenpeace thinking and its becoming a part of the spiritual culture of all inhabitants.

The Greenpeace Forum transcends party and ideology and works through direct action. As a part of the world Greenpeace movement, it intends to become a member of the Greenpeace International.

The Croat Greenpeace Forum presented about 10 demands to the public. The first one is ensuring a democratic and nonviolent resolution of the crisis in Kosovo, which presupposes the end of constitutionally sanctioned violence and breaches of human rights and liberties. They demand the end of political trials and the release of all political prisoners who did not use violent methods. They demand also that the Yugoslav and world public are informed promptly, objectively, and comprehensively about events in the province. [passage omitted]

Kambovski Issues Warning on Pluralism

LD0103185590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1942 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Novi Sad, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—The right of citizens to political association cannot be employed for endangering other constitutionally guaranteed values, Yugoslav Secretary for Justice and administration, Dr Vlado Kambovski, said today.

Kambovski was explaining conditions for the establishment of a multi-party system in Yugoslavia, which will replace the existing one-party system.

Political pluralism, he said, must not endanger the liberties and rights of people and citizens and foment ethnic, racial or religious hatred. Political pluralism, he added, must not be used either for overthrowing the constitutional system and endangering the integrity and independence of the country or for endangering the values defined by international instruments ratified by Yugoslavia.

The government regards as justified, Kambovski said, that the mandate of the Federal Assembly, which expires this May, should be extended until July 15—in order to speed up the process of adopting amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution, which include legal conditions for the institutionalization of political pluralism.

Belgrade Students Union Resumes Work

LD0103201190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1935 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—The Student Union of Belgrade, an independent student organization, resumed work today at a ceremony held at the city's faculty of arts and letters.

The Yugoslav Student Union will resume work in June this year, it was stated today.

The Yugoslav Student Union, formed in 1951, was attached to the Yugoslav youth organization in 1974. One of the reasons for that was the fact that the union,

and especially its Belgrade branch, was among the organizers of the 1968 student demonstrations.

Welcoming the renewal of the student union, Belgrade Mayor Milorad Unkovic said that puts right the injustice done to generations of Belgrade University students.

Journalists Form Independent Trade Union

LD0103201390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1923 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—The journalists of the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG on Wednesday formed an independant trade union to protect the professional and material interests and moral dignity of its members.

Under the statute adopted at the founding session, the new trade union will use all legally allowed means, including the right to strike, to protect its members.

Journalists, members of the trade union, rejected the influence of political parties or groups on the business and editorial policy of the Yugoslav news agency. They, however, said that membership in their trade union does not exclude membership in political parties.

TANJUG's photographers, translators and proof-readers can also join the new trade union.

Yugoslavia at present has a Confederation of Trade Unions, whose members automatically become all workers.

Recently, however, independent professional trade unions are being formed throughout the country reflecting dissatisfaction with the work of the Confederation of Trade Unions which, until recently, was more a transmission of the League of Communists rather than it served to protect the rights of the workers.

Economic Cooperation Talks With Iran End

AU1803211590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] The two-day Yugoslav-Iranian talks on economic cooperation ended in Tehran. The head of the Yugoslav delegation, Stevan Santo, federal secretary for energy and industry, held talks on the expansion of cooperation with the Iranian ministers for energy, Bijan Namdar-Zangeneh, and economy and finances, Mohsen Nurbakhsh.

Last year, Yugoslavia exported to Iran goods worth $137 million and imported goods worth $70 million.

Stevan Santo, federal secretary for energy and industry, was also received by the first vice president of Iran, Hasan Habibi. The development of relations to date was positively assessed by both sides.